

COURT, NOBLES AND FESTIVALS

STUDIES ON THE EARLY MODERN VISUAL CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Public festivities, related strictly to the feudal political system, were a manifestation of power and wealth, of both the monarchs and the noblemen. To add splendor to ceremonial entrances of kings, weddings, or funerals of high-ranking persons, magnificent decorations had been prepared, often by eminent artists. Due to their ephemeral nature, only a few of them remained until the present time, yet thanks to detailed accounts and iconographic sources, such as designs and graphic renditions, their forms and complex ideological content may be the subject of scientific research.

The book you have in your hands focuses on the issue of artistic setting of court ceremonies in the modern era, and are the result of cooperation between historians of art from the Jaume I University in Castellón de la Plana, the University of Valencia, Spain, and the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland, which was established in 2016. The Spanish contributors belong to the group having the name "Iconografía e Historia del Arte", which have been conducting research on court culture and sponsoring of art for over twenty years. The initiative of publishing a joint monograph, undertaken by the Department of History of Art of the University of Silesia, is a sign of ever increasing interest of Polish scientists in the issues referred to above.

The book is devoted to selected aspects of the royal and noble visual culture, strongly related to the image of power. The first chapter, *Festival books and the Habsburg empire: power and performance*, by Víctor Mínguez, deals with the relevance of literary and visual sources as a testimony of the Habsburg court's celebrations and explains their process of evolution in the 16th and 17th century.

María Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, in the study *The Baroque festivals in the Spanish king's court (1555-1808)*, concluded her last research analysing the most relevant characteristics of the Spanish Royal Court's festivities in Royal Sites, Madrid and other significant cities. Her contribution permits to observe the peculiarity of Habsburgs and Bourbons festive iconography and its mediums, such as hieroglyphs, emblems, ephemeral architecture and urban embellishments.

Pablo Gonzalez Tornel, in the text *Palermo: A Baroque capital of Kings* described the urban reforms carried out in the 17th century, which transformed the Sicilian capital into one of the European cities most sharply defined by the image of royal power.

In the next chapter, *Festive courts in the New World: the political journey of Luis de Velasco y Castilla in the American viceroyalties*, Juan Chiva Beltran raised the question of the symbolic presence of the Spanish king at the festivals organized in his American possessions, on the example of the triumphant tour of the 8th viceroy of New Spain.

Oskar J. Rojewski, in the text "*Pour la feste de l'ordre de la Thoison d'or de Mondit Seigneur nagaires tenue en sa ville de Bruges*" – *The Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468 and artistic patronage of Charles the Bold* analysed the state accounts aiming the description of the ceremonial and artistic patronage of the Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the Burgundian State. The members of

this institution during the Early Modern Age played an important role in the Habsburg international affairs and dynastic propaganda of power.

Antonio Gozalbo Nadal, in the study *The military march in honour of Charles V before the conquest of Tunis (Barcelona, 1535)*, collated the two relations about the great parade – organized on the eve of the Tunis expedition – with its representation on the second piece of the tapestry series *The Conquest of Tunis*, weaved in Brussels, between 1548 and 1554.

The text *Con dos infantes colma la real cuna. The festivals for twin grandchildren of Charles III and for the British peace in 1784*, by Cristina Igual Castelló, described the festivities that took place in Valencia to celebrate the signing of a peace treaty between Spain and Great Britain as well as the birth of new infants. It is worth noticing that various institutions and organizations, such as The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, the guilds, and the parishes cooperated in the creation of the ephemeral artworks with the intention to glorify the Monarchy.

Two final chapters, *Funeral ceremonies in the Descalzas Reales church during the second half of sixteenth century*, by Victoria Bosch Moreno, and *The obsequies of the nobleman Stefan Krzucki and his exceptional catafalque*, by Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepańska, described the different ways to commemorate the deceased and to exalt the dead person's past, family and origins.

The authors of the book are very grateful to its reviewer, Professor Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, for her appropriate and constructive suggestions. Finally, they would like to sincerely thank Professor Barbara Szczypka-Gwiazda – Head of the Department of History of Art of the University of Silesia, and Professor Waldemar Wojtasik – Vice-Dean of Research and Promotion of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Silesia, for financing the publication.

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CHAPTER I
FESTIVAL BOOKS AND THE HABSBURG EMPIRE: POWER AND PERFORMANCE

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The Habsburg Empire – understood, as the huge territories ruled by one family during the Modern Age – was a specific sequence of political entities of different legal nature and with different centres of authority. During the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century Frederick III and Maximilian I ruled the Holy Roman Empire. During the first half of the 16th century, Charles V ruled the Atlantic and Mediterranean Empire. After the abdication of Charles V in 1555 the Habsburgs were divided into two parallel courts, in Vienna and in Madrid: the former continued ruling the Holy Roman Empire until 1809; the latter established the Universal Monarchy of Philip II and then, during the 17th century, the Catholic Monarchy of the Spanish Habsburgs.

The effective rule over a global territory and ocean that lasted 200 years, was possible thanks to a family pact, to the intelligent exploitation of the Counter-Reformation Providentialism, to the fleets and armies – galleys, galleons, regiments, and citadels that defended the long borders from external enemies, and to efficient and strict propaganda system, which guaranteed the loyalty of the millions of subjects of all races and languages inhabiting the lands belonging to that territory. This persuasive mechanism was based on careful staging of objects and images at the service of dynastic power in palatial scenes (reinforced by the consecration of ceremonies and etiquette). Among these tools, there was the exploitation of Renaissance and Baroque festivities that invaded streets and squares of court cities, main viceroyalty capitals and hundreds of smaller cities, in the context of royal festivities that publicly celebrated the events connected with imperial or royal families.

Important court artists, such as Peter Paul Rubens, José Benito de Churriguera, Diego Velázquez, or Luca Giordano, designed some of the ephemeral architecture and scenes, as well as produced paintings and hieroglyphs, embellishing urban space during the public ceremonies. The contribution of these architects, painters, and sculptors to the festive art was essential to create the image of commonly recognized Spanish Empire (more appropriately, the Spanish Monarchy) that is the union of the realms ruled from Madrid by the Spanish Habsburgs. The narrations published of each royal festivity and their illustrations spread the iconography of Charles V and his successors up to the times of Charles II, setting models for artists and craftsmen all over the Empire.

Although the festive art works have not survived due to their temporary nature, the published stories provide a written testimony of them, and in some cases also a visual one. This abundant literary genre, descriptive and apologetic in nature, that allows us to currently recall what the Habsburg festivities were, contains several essential books of the symbolic culture of Baroque. My intention in this paper is to offer an itinerary

through a selection of twenty-one festival books that had been published at the service of the Habsburg House, true milestones of the festive universe of the 15th and 16th centuries, printed in different court cities of the Empire: Brussels, Valladolid, Mexico, Madrid, Lisbon, Antwerp, Naples, Valencia, Seville, Palermo, and Lima, and also Rome as a space representative of the Spanish power.

The modern festivals first appeared in the 15th century in the Humanist courts of small Italian republics, combining classical models, medieval traditions and new formal and iconographic artistic languages that originated during Renaissance. In its origin, they were configured as a publicity mechanism that increased the prestige of its promoters. The modern European states that emerged during the Renaissance turned these festivals into exercises of power, which reached an astonishing dimension during the times of the Spanish Empire. The ephemeral art transformed cities with their squares, streets and facades into great ceremonial theatres. Symbolic images provided the ideology for all that. However, the festivity narrations and chronicles published after the events were those that allowed them to live on for their contemporaries and for posterity through literary and visual narrations of the events.

Written narrations were important to guarantee the survival of the festivity, yet the existence of a graphical compilation of the festivity was even more important, and it was reproduced in engravings, most of them included as illustrations in the printed narrations. Those prints quickly travelled in Europe and America, spreading formal, iconographic, and ceremonial models. They have been the basic visual documents that allow us to intellectually recreate nowadays the great splendour of the Renaissance and Baroque.¹ The printing of illustrated books was possible from 1450, thanks to the modern printings that included the mobile types created by Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz. The Spanish Monarchy was especially meticulous in using print to organise its propaganda that was necessary, due to the territorial vastness of its domains. Not only was it one of the many resources for royal images, in the Spanish case, books and engravings were the main propaganda resources.

During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, the books encouraged by the crown were mainly normative, rhetoric pieces, written as chronicles.² The first festive chronicles were printed during the reign of Charles V and published in the most advanced printing houses of the time, which were Alcalá and Toledo: *La coronación imperial con todas sus ceremonias, traduzida del latín en lengua castellana por Diego Gracián* (s. l., 1530) and *Etriunphal recibimiento y entrada de la Católica y Cesarea Magestad del Emperador Nuestro Señor en las ciudades de Mecina en Sicilia, y de*

¹ Elena PÁEZ, Elena SANTIAGO et al., *Los Austrias. Grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos Editores, 1993); Javier BLAS, María CRUZ DE CARLOS VARONA, José MANUEL MATILLA, *Grabadores extranjeros en la Corte española del Barroco* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Centro de Estudios de la Europa Hispánica, 2001); Fernando CHECA CREMADES, “La imagen impresa en el Renacimiento y el Manierismo” in Juan CARRETE PARRONDO et al. (eds.), *El grabado en España (siglos XV al XVIII)* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1996), pp. 9-200; Antonio GALLEGU, *Historia del grabado en España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999).

² José GARCÍA ORO MARÍN, María José PORTELA SILVA, *La Monarquía y los libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 1999), p. 62.

Nápoles... (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguía, 1535). The reign of Philip II was a blossoming period for Spanish books and the new court of Madrid was one of the favourite locations for booksellers and printers. Royalties, printing licenses, fees, and book editing were instruments used by the Royal Council to control the activity of printers in the different publishing houses. In 1594, Julio Junti de Modesti, who came from a family of typographers from Florence, founded the Imprenta Real.³

The Habsburg festive literature had started one century earlier, in the itinerant court of the prudent King's great-grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg, the first prince of the Renaissance who used propaganda to exercise his power.⁴ The best example of this is the famous xylography *Triumphal arch of Maximilian I* (1518) by Albrecht Dürer (Fig. 1.1), the biggest engraving ever done, composed of one hundred ninety individual sheets joined together, to create a surface of more than ten square metres. Two hundred copies of it were made before the Emperor died and five hundred more after his death. It is an architectural and iconographic fantasy, an ideological artefact that wanted to prove, through visual and literary learning, the greatness of the dynasty and its desire of universal domination.⁵ An ephemeral architecture that never existed as such, but its visual and iconographic impact is evident.

Another example of festive fantasy is the *Triumphal procession of Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg* (1512-1514), an extensive series of xylographic engravings which show heralds, courtiers, musicians, prisoners, soldiers, and other characters escorting the emperor's triumphal carriage.⁶ Johannes Stabius created the programme inspired by the *Triumphs of Caesar* by Andrea Mantegna (1485-1505, Hampton Court Palace). In 1507, it comes from the preliminary drawings of the painter Jörg Kölderer, which were turned into engravings, with slight variations, between 1516 and 1519. The series was unfinished due to the death of Maximilian, although there were two editions of it in the 16th century, in 1526 and 1570. It was subsequently reproduced in one hundred nine watercolour and gouache on parchment sheets, from the original from Albrecht Altdorfer and Georg Lemberger (c. 1606, Albertina, Vienna).⁷

In 1548, the twenty-one-year-old prince Philip, after the war with Germany had ended the year before with the victory of Mühlberg against the Schmalkaldic League, carried out a spectacular festive trip which had the following itinerary: Valladolid, Barcelona, Gerona, Genoa, Milan, Mantua, Trento, Augsburg, Heidelberg, Namur, Brussels, Ghent, Leuven, Bruges and Antwerp. After the trip came the festivities in Binche, in the palace that Mary of Hungary had finished only four years before, and

³ Consolación MORALES BORRERO, *La Imprenta Real de Madrid desde su fundación hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1976).

⁴ Larry SILVER, *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁵ Esther MERINO PERAL, *El reino de la ilusión. Breve historia y tipos de espectáculo. El arte efímero y los orígenes de la escenografía* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2005), pp. 80-87.

⁶ Monika FRENZEL, Thomas KUSTER, *Maximilian I. Triumph eines Kaisers. Herrscher mit europäischen Visionen. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Kaiserlichen Hofburg zu Innsbruck (vom 26. Oktober 2005 - 30. Juni 2006)* (Innsbruck: Eigenverl. Burghauptmannschaft Österreich, 2005).

⁷ Fernando CHECA CREMADES (ed.), *Reyes y mecenas. Los Reyes Católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España* (Madrid: Electa, 1992), pp. 454-455.

which we can see thanks to two paintings in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Brussels). Three sources inform us of this journey: the fundamental chronicle of Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, humanist of Charles V's empire as well as preceptor and teacher of Philip II, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Phelippe* (Anvers: en casa de Martin Nucio, 1552) (Fig. 1.2); the narration of Vicente Álvarez, *Relación del camino y buen viaje que hizo el Príncipe de España don Phelipe nuestro señor* (s.l., 1551), and the series of triumphal arches at the entrance of Antwerp, compiled by Cornelius Grapheus in *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hisp. Princ. divi Carli V...* (Antverpiae: Disthem, 1550).⁸ As explained by Fernando Checa Cremades, those series of Philip's festivities “were fundamental events for the court's culture in the Europe of the Renaissance”.⁹

The imperial funerals of Charles V in different European and American cities were a milestone in the creation of the modern festivities. The ones in Brussels had a great artistic impact due to the publication of a chronicle of the ceremonies, illustrated by the brothers Juan and Lucas van Doetcum, which travelled all over Europe: *La magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funèbre (...) du tres grand et tres victorieux Empereur Charles Cinquième...* (Anvers: De l'Imprimerie de Christophe Plantin, 1559) (Fig. 1.3). It was printed and distributed by Christophe Plantin as a book and a roll, with some illustrated copies, and it was printed in several languages: French, Spanish, Flemish, Italian and German¹⁰. The impact of this publication in the other European courts was essential for the development of the future royal funeral rites. The funeral rites of Charles V in the court of Valladolid, celebrated in the Church of the Monastery of San Benito el Real, were described by Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella in *El túmulo Imperial adornado de Historias y Letreros y Epitaphios en prosa y verso latino* (Valladolid: por Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1559), illustrated with the painting of Charles V's burial mound. The iconographic programme was designed by Calvete de la Estrella himself, while the catafalque was designed and built by Francisco de Salamanca; its iconography showed the triumph of Death, but it also highlighted the emperor's virtues and the immortality and fame he achieved; the imperial emblems crowned the architecture. The third festive milestone in the funeral rites of Charles V, and the most relevant due to its architectural and iconographic novelties, takes us to America. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, disciple of Luis Vives and professor of rhetorics at the Royal University of Mexico, published *Túmulo Imperial de la gran ciudad de México* (México: por Antonio de Espinosa, 1560) (Fig. 1.4). Only one engraving illustrates this chronicle – the one of the catafalque – but it describes the hieroglyphs that decorated it and that were influenced by, among other sources, the

⁸ There is a modern edition of these sources: Paloma CUENCA (ed.), *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe don Phelippe* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001).

⁹ Fernando CHECA CREMADES, “Imágenes para un cambio de reinado: Tiziano, Leoni y el viaje de Calvete de Estrella” in CUENCA (ed.), op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁰ María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, “Exequias del Emperador Carlos V en la monarquía hispana” in María José REDONDO CANTERA, Miguel ÁNGEL ZALAMA (eds.), *Carlos V y las artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), p. 262.

canonical works of the emblematic *Emblematum Libellus* by Andrea Alciato (*Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1531*).¹¹ Among its very interesting images, it is worth highlighting those in which Charles V himself appeared – sometimes with Hernán Cortés or the indigenous people – due to their ideological interest, as they offered recreations of the power of great iconographic strength, in which the classic past and the symbolic culture shone with great intensity, for the first time in America. Regarding the catafalque, it also highlights the early assimilation of Renaissance art in the Mexican court, and was built by Claudio de Arciniega, the architect from Biscay.

It was not by chance that the first series of hieroglyphs from Madrid reproduced in paintings comprised the narration of a Jesuit festivity. From the beginning, the Society of Jesus, founded in Paris in 1534 and recognised by Pope Paul III on 27th of September 1540, used images in general, and emblems in particular, with educational and exemplary purposes, creating a specific persuasive rhetoric with a great communicative impact around them. The first Jesuit fathers arrived at the Valladolid court in 1545. From the beginning, they had the support of relevant members of the Castilian nobility and imperial family, such as princess Joanna, daughter of Charles V, married to the heir of Portugal, regent of Spain from 1554 to 1559, who even jointed the society secretly under the alias of Mateo Sánchez.¹² The commitment of the Jesuits to their Habsburg protectors and the emblematic culture in the context of the Spanish court became clear in the series of hieroglyphs that the priests of the school of the society in Madrid arranged for the funerary rites of Empress Maria, the mother of Archduchess Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain between 1599 and 1611, who died at the Convent of the Descalzas Reales on 26th of February 1603. The anonymous obsequy chronicle is entitled *Libro de las honras que hizo el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid, a la M. C. de la Emperatriz doña María de Austria...* (Madrid: por Luis Sánchez, 1603). Since the deceased was a Habsburg empress, all the decoration in the church and the catafalque became an exaltation of the empire, with abundant iconographic motifs such as the two-headed eagles and royal eagles of the Habsburg house.¹³ Thirty-six hieroglyphs were reproduced on engravings in the funerary narration and, in fifteen of them, the image shows an eagle, frequently combined with the Jesuit anagram: IHS.

In the 17th century, the Imprenta Real published the magnificent court-festive novels under the royal patronage, such as *Viage de la Catholica Real Magestad del Rei D. Felipe III N.S. al Reino de Portugal...* (Madrid: por Thomas Junti del Rei N.S., 1622) (**Fig. 1.5**), written by João Baptista Lavanha. The arrival of Philip III to Lisbon in 1619 to hold Cortes to swear the Prince of Asturias as an heir provided the most grandiose

¹¹ Santiago SEBASTIÁN LÓPEZ, *Iconografía e iconología del arte novohispano* (México: Grupo Azabache, 1992), pp. 140-142.

¹² Ester JIMÉNEZ PABLO, *La forja de una identidad. La Compañía de Jesús (1540-1640)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2014), pp. 71, 72.

¹³ Jorge SEBASTIÁN LOZANO, “Emblemas para una emperatriz muerta. Las honras madrileñas de la Compañía por María de Austria” in Rafael GARCÍA MAHÍQUES, Vicent F. ZURIAGA SENENT (eds.), *Imagen y Cultura. La interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural*, vol. 2 (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008), pp. 1453-1462.

welcoming this Modern Age city had lived to that day. It is probably the most spectacular political festivity that took place in Portugal during the Ancien Regime. Among other physical elements the arrival left us with, there are: the magnificent extensible sheet of the king's landing and the royal committee at the port, painted by Domingos Viera and engraved by Juan Schorquens, and an exceptional series of ephemeral decorations, of which the highlights are the triumphal arches, with a Mannerist design and significant Flemish influences.¹⁴

Another one of the great Habsburg arrivals of the 17th century was in Antwerp by Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria on 17th of April 1635, described by Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts, a humanist and State secretary of this city, in his narration *Pompa Introitus honori serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum infantis...* (Antverpiae: apud Theod. a Tulden, 1641) (Fig. 1.6). At that time, the city was in full economic decline after the Dutch blocked the mouth of the Scheldt river. The inhabitants trusted in the Cardinal-Infante to expel the enemy with another military victory; thus, they spared no expense to receive the new governor of the Netherlands. Theodoor van Thulden was the author of most of the forty-two engravings that illustrate and show the ephemeral architecture built for the arrival, designed by Peter Paul Rubens.

On 6th of October 1644, Queen Elisabeth of France, the first wife of Philip IV, died and the court celebrated her funerary rites on 18th of November at the Church of St. Jerome the Royal. They were organised by the Count of Castrillo, the president of the Council of the Indies, and the temple and catafalque ornaments were done following the designs of Juan Gómez de Mora, main master of royal construction. The anonymous narration, *Pompa funeral, honras y exequias en la muerte de (...) Isabel de Borbón...* (Madrid: por Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1645), is illustrated with the catafalque, the normal ornament of the nave, the funerary hieroglyphs, and the scene set out at the entrance of the temple. The inside of the church was abundantly ornamented: black velvet hangings, burning candles, and shields of Spain and France. The windows were blocked off so that the only light came from the catafalque lights and the temple's candles. In the four corners of the cloister, ephemeral altars were set up. The wall displayed poetry, hieroglyphs, and epitaphs prepared by the "Court engineers". In the centre of the transept, a Corinthian-order catafalque was raised, covered with many lights, skulls, bones and fleur-de-lis, as well as many allegories of the kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy and the virtues of the deceased queen.

However, of all the royal funerary rites that took place in the Spanish Court during the Spanish Golden Age, the most important ones were those of Philip IV. There were several reasons: he was the Planet King, he hand governed the empire for more than forty years; it occurred in 1665, coinciding with the artistic peak in Spain of the Habsburgs; and it was celebrated in the midst of the decline of the Spanish supremacy in Europe after the treaties of Westphalia and of the Pyrenees, increasing the illusive

¹⁴ Fernando MORENO CUADRO, "Exaltación imperial de Felipe III en las decoraciones efímeras portuguesas de 1619", *Traza y Baza. Cuadernos Hispanos de Simbología* 9 (1985), pp. 5-65. Maria Eugénia REIS GOMES, *Contribuição para o estudo da festa em Lisboa no antigo regime* (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Ensino a Distância, 1985).

effect of solemnity, as it became a mirage of what reality intended to hide. The chronicle was written by doctor Pedro Rodríguez de Monforte, was entitled *Descripción de las honras que se hicieron a la catholica Magd. de Don Phelippe quarto...* (Madrid: por Francisco Nieto, 1666). (Fig. 1.7), and it is illustrated with magnificent images of the chamber engraver Pedro de Villafranca Malagón.¹⁵ The narration tells us about the disease, death, burial and funerary rites of the powerful king, and the paintings illustrate the formal layout of the rites that took place in the Convent of the Encarnación. They show the hieroglyphs and shields that decorated the venue, and the interesting and sumptuous burial mound erected by the painter and architect Sebastián de Herrera y Barnuevo.¹⁶ The extensive reach of this chronicle allowed these emblems to become an inspiration to other subsequent series of Spanish hieroglyphs.¹⁷

Similarly to the imperial funerary rites of Charles V, those celebrated for the Planet King were a milestone in the Baroque festive culture. After the rites in court, many others were organized all around the Empire, with a special emphasis on the ones in Rome, Naples and Mexico. The news of the death of Philip IV arrived to Rome on 17th of October 1665. Ambassador Pedro Antonio de Aragón commissioned the canon of the Cathedral of Seville and the royal agent in Rome, Nicolás Antonio, the writing of the funerary texts; his high steward Arias de Campomanes oversaw the burial mound construction; architect Antonio del Grande designed and built it; professor Blas Peinado wrote the sermon; Jesuit Pedro Jerónimo de Córdoba prepared the funerary prayer, and Antonio Pérez de Rua wrote the funerary rite chronicle: *Funeral hecho en Roma en la Yglesia de Santiago de los Españoles...* (Roma: en la Imprenta de Jacomo Dragondelli, 1666). The funerary rites were celebrated in the Church of St. James (now the Church of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart), and the ephemeral ornaments transformed its two facades incredibly, as can be seen in the two engravings: the one on the facade located in front of the Sapienza University represented the glory of the deceased king, and was designed by Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, while the perspective and paintings were done by Fabrizio Chiari, Michel'Angelo Maltese and Pietro del Pò; the design of the Piazza Navona facade was executed by painter Nicola Beson and architect Antonio Del Grande, and it highlighted the religion (religious beliefs) of Philip IV. The Ionic-order burial mound was round, decorated by eight

¹⁵ Steven N. ORSO, *Art and death at the Spanish Habsburg court. The royal exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989).

¹⁶ Antonio Bonet Correa connected it, with good criteria, to the reredos-baldachin of the Spanish Baroque, see Antonio BONET CORREA, "El túmulo de Felipe IV de Herrera Barnuevo y los retablos-baldaquinos del barroco español", *Archivo Español de Arte* 136 (1961), pp. 285-296.

¹⁷ They were studied years ago by: María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, "Iconografía funeraria de las exequias de Felipe IV en España e Hispanoamérica", *Cuadernos de Investigación. Historia* 7 (1981), pp. 73-96; eadem, "Mensaje simbólico de los jeroglíficos en las exequias de Felipe IV" in Beatriz DE LA FUENTE (coord.), *Arte Funerario. Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte*, vol. 1 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), pp. 217-229; José Javier AZANZA LÓPEZ, José Luis MOLINS MUGUETA, *Exequias reales del Regimiento pamplonés en la Edad Moderna* (Pamplona: Ayuntamiento de Pamplona, 2005).

allegoric sculptures of the deceased king's virtues.¹⁸

The Neapolitan funerary rites of Philip IV were probably the greatest symbolic exaltation of the Habsburg House. The ephemeral devices gave way to a magnificent scene that developed an iconographic plan of great symbolic coherence that, nowadays, we can see clearly thanks to the festivity chronicles written by Marcello Marciano, *Pompe Funebri dell'Universo nella Morte di Filippo quarto il Grande Re delle Spagne* (...) (Napoli: per E. Longo, 1666), illustrated with more than sixty images of great quality.¹⁹ The funerary rites took place on 18th of February 1666 at the Church of St. Clara. The funerary ornaments were placed in the atrium and the temple, among others, the person responsible for them was painter and decorator Luca Giordano, who half a century after would move to the court of Madrid to work there, during the last years of the reign of Charles II. The symbolic speech, which focused on astrology, was unfolded in the atrium, on the facade, the catafalque – built by engineer Francesco Antonio Picchiatti – and nave of the temple, which was covered in black cloth and had sixty hieroglyphs hanging, representing the constellations and linking each one to a specific member of the Habsburg family.

The funerary rites in the cathedral of Philip IV in Mexico City were narrated for posterity in the interesting chronicle written by Isidro de Sariñana y Cuenca, which was entitled *Llanto de occidente en el ocaso del más claro sol de las Españas ...* (México: por la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1666), illustrated with the burial mound image and with the sixteen hieroglyphs that embellished the base. The catafalque, built by Pedro Ramírez, had three parts and was decorated with many ephemeral sculptures. Between the columns of the first part, surrounding the tomb, were four historical kings, four classical heroes and four allegories of the different names Spain had in its history. The second part had a statue representing the deceased king, in which he was surrounded by four representations of biblical King Solomon. These allowed identifying the metropolitan cathedral in a subtle way with the lost temple of Jerusalem, as political Solomonism was one of the elements constantly represented in Spanish Monarchy²⁰. This connected to the new symbolic and archaeological Solomonism, deeply rooted in the New Spain.²¹ The last section had a great statue of Faith. As we can see, the iconographic plan allowed comparing Philip IV to the mythical, biblical and historical royalty, while the Spanish allegories reminded the American subjects of their belonging to a common empire, regardless of what it was called.

¹⁸ Víctor MÍNGUEZ, “Arte efímero y alegorías: la *Iconología* de Ripa en las exequias romanas de Felipe IV”, *Ars longa. Cuadernos de Arte* 1 (1990), pp. 89-97.

¹⁹ Idem, “Exequias de Felipe IV en Nápoles: la exaltación dinástica a través de un programa astrológico”, *Ars Longa. Cuadernos de Arte* 2 (1991), pp. 53-62; idem, *Los reyes solares. Iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2001), pp. 157-166.

²⁰ Idem, “El rey de España se sienta en el trono de Salomón. Paralelismos simbólicos entre la Casa de David y la Casa de Austria” in idem (ed.), *Visiones de la monarquía hispánica* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2007), pp. 19-55.

²¹ Juan Antonio RAMÍREZ (ed.), *Dios arquitecto. Juan Bautista Villalpando y el templo de Salomón* (Madrid: Siruela, 1991); Martha FERNÁNDEZ, *La imagen del Templo de Jerusalén en la Nueva España* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003).

During the second half of the 17th century, coinciding with the reign of Charles II, some of the best festive chronicles were published, linked to the Spanish Monarchy. Among them was the story of Leonardo del Castillo, *Viage del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Quarto a la frontera de Francia (...)* (Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, 1667) (Fig. 1.8), who narrated the meeting on the Bidasoa river of the courts of Madrid and Paris for the Treaty of the Pyrenees. The painter Diego Velázquez participated in the preparation. It is illustrated with magnificent paintings by Pedro de Villafranca, and it also includes an anonymous engraving of the view of Bidasoa and Pheasant Island that shows the arrival of the fleet of royal feluccas transporting king Philip IV and his daughter towards the structure known as Unionis Domus or the Casa de las Entregas.

The chronicle of Juan Bautista de Valda, *Solenes fiestas, que celebró Valencia, a la Inmaculada Concepción de la Virgen Maria...* (Valencia: por Geronimo Vilagrasa, 1663) is also relevant. The Spanish Monarchy, heir of the Pietas Austriaca, was actively implicated in the theological debate that made maculists and immaculists confront each other since the Middle Ages. Charles V promoted the worship of the Conception, sponsoring many brotherhoods in 1526. Also Philip III and Philip IV were very belligerent in this cause. The influence of Sister Mary of Jesus of Ágreda, Franciscan and visionary, on the latter pushed the king to exert pressure on Rome in a decisive manner, which resulted in obtaining a Papal brief from Alexander VII in December 1661 that Valencia celebrated the year after. The images reproduce twenty-eight chariots, a triumphal arch, nineteen altars and a Marian image²². In total, there were fifty paintings, most of them done by Francisco Quesádez. The fourth was stand out by José Caudi, painter, architect and stage designer.

In addition to the immaculist cause, the Spanish crown was also very active in Rome during the 17th century, pressuring to obtain the recognition of a saint of their own lineage, for prestige reasons, as had already happened for the kingdoms of France, Portugal and Hungary. Several names were considered as possible candidates. The proposal came to canonize Ferdinand III of Castile, the first cousin of St. Louis of France, who was already worshipped in Seville, even if he was not recognised by Rome. His untouched body and sword were kept in the royal chapel of the Cathedral of Seville. The ecclesiastical, municipal and commercial elites of Seville, and the respected Count-Duke of Olivares, a native of the city backed his candidacy. They were all joined together with the clear aim of promoting the prestige of the city and the Spanish royalty. Finally, in 1671, when Charles II was already King of Spain, Pope Clement X recognised the new worship of King St. Ferdinand. To celebrate this event, Seville organised magnificent festivities, described in the chronicles of the priest and poet Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiesta de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla al culto, nuevamente concedido al Señor Rey San Fernando III de Castilla y León* (Sevilla: en casa de la Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671) (Fig. 1.9). It is probably the best printed festivity book from the Spanish Peninsula in the Golden Age. It is illustrated with twenty-one etchings by Matías de Arteaga and Juan de Valdés Leal, representing the King, the Saint, the city views, ephemeral architecture and hieroglyphs.

²² Pilar PEDRAZA, *Barroco efímero en Valencia* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1982).

The wedding of Charles II with Marie Louise of Orléans represented a milestone in the Neapolitan and Sicilian festive celebrations. The marriage by proxy took place in Fontainebleau on 31th of August 1679. On 3th of November, the new Queen arrived to Pheasant Island, on the Bidasoa. She met her husband in the town of Quintanapalla (Burgos), arrived to Madrid on 3th of December, and her official arrival to the city was on 13th of January 1680.²³ Among the festive narrations from Palermo for the wedding of Charles and Marie Louise, it is worth highlighting the chronicle by Pietro Maggio, *Le guerre festive nelle reali nozze de' serenissimi, e cattolici re di Spagna Carlo secondo, e Maria Luisa di Borbone, celebrate nella felice, e fedelissima città di Palermo, dall'illustrissimo senato della medesima città ...* (Palermo: per Giuseppe la Barbera e Tomaso Rummulo & Orlando, 1680), with one of the best series of illustrations of the Sicilian Baroque. They represent the equestrian tournament celebrated for the royal wedding. The first one is the cover, which shows Fame, armed and on horseback as a paladin of the tournament, sounding a bugle from which hangs a pennant with the title of the book. The crest of the helmet is an eagle holding in its claws an inscribed band with the initials S.P.Q.P, referring to the senate in Palermo. Another image shows the ephemeral amphitheatre set up for the occasion, with the tournament teams in action and the audience watching the show from the terraces. Two other large folded images allow us to contemplate the detailed parade of the participating knights: paladins, horsemen, trumpet players, soldiers, chaises, etc. The other eleven images, done by Baptista Mansella, represent the participating paladins and are a wonderful graphic document of great quality showing the attire, the symbols, and the staging of the knights participating in the tournaments during the Baroque. Each paladin, whose name and emblem is shown on an engraving, is wearing a suit of armour, holding a lance and riding a saddled horse, and is accompanied by two groomsmen, on one occasion with their own emblems. The most spectacular aesthetical and iconographic elements are the incredible crests covering the helmets of the participating knights, finished with a new emblem.

The Golden Age and the Habsburg festive culture ended with an excellent series of books on royal funerary rites. Standing out are those with the most interesting artistic and iconographic illustrations, which invariably show the catafalques, ephemeral decorations, funerary entourage and hieroglyphs. The chronicle of Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, *Noticias historiales de la enfermedad, muerte, y exsequias de la esclarecida reyna de las Españas Doña Maria Luisa de Orleans, Borbón Stuart y Austria...* (Madrid: por Francisco Pérez, 1690), narrates the funerary rites of the queen at the Royal Monastery of La Encarnación on 22th and 23th of March 1689. A competition was held for designing the catafalque, the winner of which was José de Churriguera. The creation of this burial mound and the ephemeral decorations of the temple involved one hundred fifty makers, such as: carpenters, painters, sculptors, assemblers, carvers, and turners. The twenty hieroglyphs decorating the atrium and the portico of the church were a work of the author of the funerary rites chronicle, Vera Tassis. Many more were hung inside the temple, having been created by many people whose names are not included in the

²³ Teresa ZAPATA FERNÁNDEZ DE LA HOZ, *La entrada en la Corte de María Luisa de Orleans. Arte y fiesta en el Madrid de Carlos II* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo al Arte Hispánico, 2000).

funerary narration; however, nowadays it is accepted that painter Antonio Palomino intervened in the design of twelve of them, and the court scholar Gaspar Agustín de Lara was responsible for fifteen.²⁴ The chronicle by Francisco de Montalvo, *Noticias fúnebres de las Magestuosas Exequias que hizo la felicísima ciudad de Palermo (...) en la muerte de Maria Luisa de Borbón...* (Palermo: por Thomas Romolo, Impresor del S. Officio, 1689) narrates the funerary rites of the queen in the Sicilian capital. The decoration of the temple and the catafalque developed a territorial iconographic programme showing the cities, realms and continents that the monarchy integrated. Each city and territory was represented by an allegory, a coat of arms and a hieroglyph.²⁵

Even more interesting were the funerary rites of Charles II, who died on 1st of November 1700, because the symbolic programmes designed for the occasion were the climax of the apologetic discourse of the Spanish Habsburg House and because the death of the fragile and unhappy Charles marked the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, which ended in a change of dynasty.²⁶ Among the many funerary rites that are known, three are highlighted due to their interesting narration, regarding the funerary devices set up in Palermo, Mexico, and Lima. The narration by Diego de Loya, *Ocaso de el mejor sol (...) noticias fúnebres (...) en el ocaso de Carlos II...* (Palermo: Real Estampa de Felix Marmio, 1701) (Fig. 1.10) includes more than twenty images, showing the funerary procession, the parade organised at the port to proclaim Philip V, the tragic scenario set at the main chapel of the city's cathedral, the catafalque, and fourteen beautiful funerary hieroglyphs, representing some of the symbolic images most commonly associated to Charles II: the king kneeling before the viaticum and relinquishing the chaise, the Sun shining in the sky, the Moon eclipsing Sun, the eagle contemplating the Sun, or the king giving the power emblems to God. The chronicle by Agustín de Mora, *El Sol eclipsado antes de llegar al zenid. Real pyra que encendió a la apagada luz del Rey N. S. D. Carlos II (...)* (México: por Juan Joseph Guillena Carrasco, 1701) offers twenty sun hieroglyphs painted by Antonio de Castro which decorated the base of the pyre, and were the best Spanish approach to the cultural and symbolic image of the astral king. Finally, the chronicle of Jesuit José Buendía, *Parentación real al soberano (...) Don Carlos II...* (Lima: por Joseph de Contreras, Impresor Real, 1701), provides one of the catafalques of Charles V, most rich in meaning. It was crowned by a giant Phoenix, symbolising the king's double body present in almost all the funerary honours to this king.²⁷ It was designed by a Mercedarian monk, the main master of Royal Factories, Fr Cristóbal, and built by Miguel Rodríguez. The painting is signed by Dominican Miguel Adame.

²⁴ María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, "Antonio Palomino y las exequias reales de M^a Luisa de Orleáns" in César CHAPARRO et al. (eds.), *Paisajes emblemáticos: la construcción de la imagen simbólica en Europa y América* (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2008), pp. 457-476.

²⁵ Santiago SEBASTIÁN LÓPEZ, "La imagen alegórico-emblemática de los lugares geográficos: el catafalco de María de Borbón", *Ars Longa. Cuadernos de Arte* 4 (1993), pp. 47-57.

²⁶ Víctor MÍNGUEZ, *La invención de Carlos II. Apoteosis simbólica de la Casa de Austria* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), p. 315.

²⁷ Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *Los dos cuerpos del rey* (Madrid: Alianza, 1985), p. 375.

CHAPTER II

THE BAROQUE FESTIVALS IN THE KING'S COURT (1555-1808)

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The study of the Baroque festivals in the king's court during the Ancien Régime drives us into the core of the Spanish festive universe, which takes place over several centuries in different locations of the Peninsula: Toledo, Madrid, Valladolid, Seville and Royal Estates (especially, El Escorial, Aranjuez, and La Granja).²⁸ The festivities were those in which the presence of the royal family, the nobility, and the Church contributed with great economic resources, with the intervention of the most important court architects and artists, and the use of privileged spaces, such as some of the villas with greater artistic heritage and the stunning royal palaces and gardens.

All these festivities were recorded in books and leaflets. Thus, the genre of event narration was born. These events were very significant in Spain and had a deliberate purpose: the remembrance of the events, the promotion of the monarchy, nobility, and the power of the church, the celebration of events, and, of course, the avowal of loyalty of the cities and the support of nobles and subjects of the monarchy.²⁹ In this genre, the narration would capture the festivities as the authors and promoters wished them to go down in history, going beyond the realistic narration of what had happened, with the intention of elevating its participants – usually the nobles that organised the festivities or the organising city by order of the king. Because of that, the festivity narrations are somewhere between the historical rendition and literary genre, as not all the aspects of the story should be interpreted as truly reflecting the events.³⁰ Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor aptly summarised the fiction narrations of the festivity stories as a mechanism of “a closed rendition in which the event, no matter which one, is told, following the rhetorical principles to generate an ideological effect that reinforces the programme of

²⁸ This text is based on the book by Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, *La fiesta barroca. La corte del rey, 1555-1808* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2016).

²⁹ About the Festival genre in Spain see Nieves PENA SUERIO, “Estado de la cuestión sobre el estudio de las Relaciones de sucesos”, *Pliegos de bibliofilia* 13 (2001), pp. 43-66; Víctor INFANTES DE MIGUEL, “¿Qué es una relación? (Divulgaciones varias sobre una sola divagación)” in Henry ETTINGHAUSEN, Víctor INFANTES DE MIGUEL, Augustín REDONDO, María CRUZ GARCÍA DE ENTERRÍA, (coords.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en España (1500-1750). Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional* (Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, Publications de La Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 203-216; Sagrario LÓPEZ POZA, “Peculiaridades de las relaciones festivas en forma de libro” in Sagrario LÓPEZ POZA, Nieves PENA SUERIO (eds.), *La fiesta. Actas del II Seminario de Relaciones de Sucesos* (Ferrol: Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, 1999), pp. 213-222.

³⁰ A very interesting analysis of the festivals genre as the supporter of an ideology is provided in Fernando RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, *Barroco. Representación e ideología en el mundo hispánico (1580-1680)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), pp. 161-186, in chapter four and as fictional narration through diverse ideological thoughts in José Jaime GARCÍA BERNAL, *El Fasto público en la España de los Austrias*, (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009).

its execution”.³¹ In that sense, they are milestone books, with magnificent prints portraying the catafalques, the hieroglyphs, the ornaments and the scenography, and also with a great variety of formats in which the festivities' artistic manifestation was reflected: canvases, watercolours, drawings, as well as some architecture and sculptures that remained until the present time.

MADRID, THE CAPITAL OF COURT'S FESTIVITIES The Villa of Madrid, erected as the Crown's capital from 1561 onwards, became the quintessential festive city of the Spanish Court. At that time, Madrid was still not prepared for the ceremonial display required by monarchy.³² Nevertheless, during this period, some key festive spaces were built: the Monastery of St. Philip the Royal in 1547, the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in 1558, and the Monastery of St. Dominic the Royal in 1582, among others.

Also, neither the road network nor the infrastructures of the city were prepared for its new role for the court; much of both were still from the Muslim and Medieval periods. Therefore, in 1570, when the Queen Anne of Austria was welcomed into the court, the work that was carried out determined the processional streets for the future royal festivities between the Plaza de las Platerías, the Calle Mayor, the Carrera de San Jerónimo, and the Almudena Cathedral.³³

The festivities took place in various squares of the city. Squares were, undoubtedly, the spaces that were better suited for festivities to take place, especially for processions and shows. If, in addition, the common type of Spanish square was there, with its arcades, façades with balconies, government buildings, the audience could comfortably see, and the square functioned as a theatre building or open-air theatre. It became so important that the square was the centre stage of festivities, as can be seen in some of the festivity portrayals preserved in the Plaza Mayor, the Plaza de la Villa, and the Plaza del Palacio. In 1581, Philip II of Spain commissioned Juan de Herrera, the architect of El Escorial – whom he appointed director architect – to design the Plaza Mayor in the location of the old Plaza del Arrabal. Juan de Herrera's project was not carried out immediately. The architect Francisco de Mora took the designs of his teacher and finished designing the square between 1608 and 1612, adding the square ground plan and façades. The work did not start until the reign of Philip III with Juan Gómez de Mora in charge of the construction.³⁴ The Plaza Mayor of Madrid became one of the main locations for festivities in the city from the start, with its uniting and proportionate character reflected

³¹ Fernando RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, “Para una genealogía y alcances de los estudios españoles sobre efímero de estado y régimen de lo espectacular” in José María DÍAZ BORQUE (dir.), Esther BORREGO GUTIÉRREZ, Catalina BUEZO CANALEJO (eds.), *Literatura, política y fiesta en el Madrid de los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2009), p. 465.

³² Carmen CAYETANO MARTÍN, “Madrid era una fiesta” in *Libro de Noticias particulares, así de Nacimientos de Príncipes como entrada de Reyes* (Madrid: Imprenta Artesanal del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2005), p. 21.

³³ Antonio BONET CORREA, *Fiesta, poder y arquitectura. Aproximaciones al Barroco español* (Madrid: Akal), p. 19.

³⁴ María del Mar LOZANO BARTOLOZZI, *Historia del urbanismo en España II. Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011), p. 207.

in many paintings from the 17th century showing tournaments and bull fights, painted by anonymous artists or painters specialised in urban scenes, such as Juan de la Corte (Municipal Museum of Madrid). The role of Madrid as the capital increased with the return of the Court from Valladolid in 1606, it had moved there in 1601. Gómez de Mora started the remodelling of the Real Alcázar between 1619 and 1627, ordering a uniting façade and a square in front of it, the Plaza del Palacio (Fig. 2.1). An image by an anonymous German artist in 1623 shows the entourage at the welcome of the Prince of Wales in Madrid in 1623 (Municipal Museum of Madrid), where the spaciousness of the site designed by Gómez de Mora can be observed, as well as the unity and magnificence of the façade of the Alcázar and the stage located on it, where theatre performances accompanying the festivities took place (Fig. 2.2).

When the city architecture could not be improved, theatrical settings were used to show perfect urban perspective. Thus, Madrid was the image of an organised republic, a perfect city born from the imagination of the artists that participated in making the decorations, the archetype of a city loyal to the monarchy through its theatres of majesty. The city became the quintessential theatre space for its court, carriages, stalls, altars and ephemeral architecture.

During the reign of Philip IV, Madrid became the quintessential royal and ceremonial city. Unlike his father, Philip IV almost never left the city or the royal quarters. It was also during the reign of Philip IV that Madrid underwent other important urban transformations, which led to the formation of ceremonial spaces, such as the construction of the Town Hall (Ayuntamiento) and the Plaza de la Villa, the Santa Cruz Palace, the Palace of the Duke of Uceda and – especially – the Buen Retiro Palace.

The 18th century and the new Bourbon dynasty brought essential changes to the city. Teodoro Ardemans was the main master architect responsible for the royal constructions and main master of the town hall during the reign of Philip V. However, due to his many activities in the royal palaces, it was architect Pedro de Ribera who took over the construction in the city, systematising the arrangement of many a space, and erecting neoclassical buildings. Both architects were also in charge of the construction of ephemeral architecture for court and municipal festivities, magnificent prints of which exist, as well as the preserved drawings of their festive designs. It was also at that time when the Royal Palace got destroyed by fire and was rebuilt, creating a new building, majestic and unitary, more in line with the representative role of the monarchy

TYPES AND SPACES OF ROYAL FESTIVITIES

The city's urban planning gained more relevance than ever with the royal welcoming ceremonies, as the king and city organised a tour of the main streets and squares, favouring the axis of the Royal Palace to the boulevard Prado de San Jerónimo, which benefited from urban and architectonic improvements. Such a royal festivity had two essential moments: the triumphal or allegorical procession, and the act of exaltation or

reception ceremony.³⁵ The final acts took place after the visit in the cathedral or main church, and ended with the reception at the palace and the festivities in the squares, which could last several days.

María José del Río Barredo specified the importance that the public welcoming ceremonies of the consort queens gained in the Spanish monarchy on the occasion of their marriages.³⁶ They even eclipsed the welcoming of the king himself. The quality and quantity of the festivities and decorations reached an unequalled level among Spanish ceremonies, with a complex protocol. It was even stated that Madrid was the most splendid of Europe, “the most beautiful theatre of the world.”³⁷ These festivities began around 1559-1560, during the reign of Philip II.³⁸ The ceremonies peaked with the welcoming of Anne of Austria in the capital in 1570. They became the most lavish festivities organised by the city and, subsequently, were of greater importance for social groups and institutions in the city, with the participation of the town hall, guilds, religious orders, etc. as, from the '60s and '70s, the festivities included the participation of allegorical carriages and mobile platforms. Those days were much appreciated because they showed the Spanish king's prestige without him even being present, as flags, pallia, kings-of-arms and, especially, ephemeral decorations represented him. As though, if at all, the king participated in disguise.

Such a reception started at the outskirts of the city, where the welcome by different urban institutions and corporations took place, in hierarchical order and in uniforms. The tour continued down the established streets and, with each step, triumphal arches and decorations embellished the city and offered symbolic messages that expressed and communicated the monarchy's ideology to the population. The most paradigmatic welcoming of a queen in Madrid was that of Marie Louise of Orléans, studied in depth by Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz. Four arches were erected: at the entrance to the Carrera de San Jerónimo, at the Hospital de San Pedro, at the Puerta del Sol (Fig. 2.3) and next to the Almudena Cathedral, in addition to a gallery or the Calle de los Reinos and other ornaments. A full team of best artists was in charge of the arches, carriages and ornaments: Claudio Coello, Diego González de Vega, José Donoso, Matías de Torres, Isidoro Arredondo, Francisco Ignacio Ruiz de la Iglesia, José de la Torre, Sebastián de Benavente, etc. They were also commissioned to prepare the images on the arches and ornaments of the city, although only four plates were opened in the end.³⁹ The iconographic programme revolved around the peace treaty between

³⁵ GARCÍA BERNAL, op. cit., p. 229; María José DEL RÍO BARREDO, *Madrid, Urbs Regia. La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), p. 21.

³⁶ Julia DE LA TORRE FAZIO, “La llegada de la Esposa: Isabel de Valois en España” in Rosario CAMACHO, Eduardo ASENJO RUBIO, Belén CALDERÓN ROCA (coords.), *Fiestas y mecenazgo en las relaciones culturales del Mediterráneo en la Edad Moderna* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2012), pp. 205-220.

³⁷ Virginia TOVAR MARTÍN, *El barroco efímero y la fiesta popular. La entrada triunfal en el Madrid del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1985), p. 24. See also Dalmiro DE LA VÁGOMA Y DÍAZ-VARELA, *Entradas en Madrid de reinas de la Casa de Austria* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños del CSIC, 1966).

³⁸ DEL RÍO BARREDO, op. cit., p. 39.

³⁹ Teresa ZAPATA FERNÁNDEZ DE LA HOZ, “Las relaciones de las entradas reales del siglo XVII. Del folleto al gran libro de la fiesta” in LÓPEZ POZA, PENA SUERIO (eds.), op. cit., pp. 359-373.

Spain and France which was sealed with the new marriage, the couple's prosperity and happiness, the universal power of the monarchy, the universalism of the Catholic church supported by the Austrian dynasty, the virtue of the monarchy's Justice, the wealth of the crown, the virtues of the king, etc.

The 18th century saw a paradigm shift. The queen's welcoming remained, although performances and entertainment events were reduced, and the king's welcoming regained relevance again. The reason was clearly the welcome of a new king with the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty and of Philip V to the new Court, a royal welcoming of which we have abundant graphic proof, as regards the magnificent ephemeral architecture erected (Fig 2.4). Another notable example was the welcoming of Charles III in Madrid as king of Spain, who arrived from his kingdom of Naples; he was also a king that had ruled in another court, although from the same dynasty. The display of ephemeral architecture and urban ornaments was incredible, and it was recorded in a series of paintings by Lorenzo Quirós (Fig. 2.5).

In addition to the royal welcoming, the other type of festivities that united the urban glory and the procession tour of the streets, stressing the importance of squares, was the exaltation or pledging of the king. In this respect, streets such as the Calle Mayor, which became the main artery of the city when Philip II regularised it from the Puerta del Sol to its junction with the Plaza del Palacio, were prominent. Also the Carrera de San Jerónimo, which extended from the Monastery of St. Jerome the Royal to the Puerta del Sol, where religious institutions powered by the crown were built such as the Convent of St Philip the Royal, the Hospital of the Court and the Monastery of Our Lady of the Victory. The royal announcements were made on four stages built in the main squares of Madrid: the Plaza Mayor, the Plazuela de Palacio, and the Plazuela de la Villa (also called the Plazuela del Salvador), and the fourth stage in the Plaza de las Descalzas Reales. The tour started in the building of the Town Hall with the royal ensign (in Spain: *alferez*) and his convoy carrying the banner.

Other royal rituals, perhaps not as public, privileged the architectural spaces more than urban ones; thus, the celebrations took place in chapels, churches, and convents with the protection of the monarchs: the convents of the Descalzas Reales and the Encarnación, and sometimes also the Colegio of the Society of Jesus, the Church of St. Jerome the Royal, and the Church of Our Lady of Antocha, or in the royal parishes.⁴⁰ For example, baptism ceremonies were organised during the 16th century in different parishes, such as St. Giles or St. John, or in the Royal Chapel that was one of the main centres of the court's ceremonies during the Modern Period, although it was less public and its etiquette was very regulated.⁴¹

The funeral rites were also celebrated in different churches or convents of royal patronage, although the main church for that purpose was St. Jerome the Royal. In addition, the Madrid Town Hall organised its own funerary rites in another parish or

⁴⁰ María Leticia SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Patronato Regio y órdenes religiosas femeninas en el Madrid de los Austrias: Descalzas Reales. Encarnación y Santa Isabel* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997).

⁴¹ Juan José CARRERAS, Bernardo J. GARCÍA (eds.), *La Capilla Real de los Austrias. Música y ritual de corte en la Europa moderna* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2001).

convent intended for such purpose, normally St. Dominic. The temple of St. Jerome the Royal was the preferred church to celebrate the royal funerals; however, the Convent of the Descalzas Reales and the Royal Convent of the Encarnación, joined with the Royal Palace by means of an overhang passage, were also the locations for this ritual. The funerary ceremony of the Spanish Monarchy, especially during the reign of the House of Habsburg, but with small variations during the century of the Bourbon reign, was dominated by the etiquette that had been established in Spain in the 16th century. The whole temple was decorated, usually with black fabric as a sign of mourning, to display the royal catafalque. The façades of the church were also decorated with a touch of sadness. A funeral procession was organised: the subjects were dressed in black and walked around the city with a sad cadence.⁴² The royal burial mound was especially meaningful, concentrating a prominent part of the sad decoration. Its form and type derived from the evolution of modern Spanish architecture, from Renaissance to Neoclassicism.⁴³ The funerary décor, intended to indicate the mourning due to loss, but also the virtues and glories of the deceased, as well as the continuance of the dynasty which ensured the survival of the vassals, was adorned with textile ornaments as well as with the exhibition of paintings, prints, sculptures, false architecture made of cardboard and wood, and other elements that normally would transform the church, for a few days, into a true temple of the deceased hero or heroine (Fig. 2.6). The purpose of such conceptual buildings was not only the exaltation of the deceased monarch, but also the reinforcement of the institution of monarchy, dynasty and lineage, with the aim of strongly regulating the critical interregnum period to avoid any moments of chaos.

Another privileged space was the Convent of the Descalzas Reales, which was created with a strong link to the House of Habsburg and was, therefore, one of the sites of religious and secular celebrations, both sad and happy ones. The convent was founded by Joanna of Austria a few years before her brother, Philip II, selected Madrid as the capital. With benefactors such as Empress Maria or Infant Isabella Clara Eugenia, the convent quickly accumulated a great collection of relics and art pieces. The main liturgical purpose of its foundation was, from the beginning, the devotion and exaltation of the Eucharist, and thus it has a special prominence in two main festivities of the liturgical year in Madrid, the *Corpus Domini* (Corpus Christi) and the Holy Week. In both cases, many of the ceremonies took place inside the convent's church; therefore, only nuns, the royal family and the court that accompanied them could witness the rituals. At the sanctuary of Atocha, the Marian rituals took place, financed by the Spanish Crown, as well as rogations and private prayer visits, normally to give thanks for the birth of a royal son or for winning a battle.

THE DEVOTIONAL FESTIVITIES

In addition to royal festivities, the Spanish monarchy stood out due to the manifestation of religious services. Three of them are emphasised because of their relationship with

⁴² Victoria SOTO CABA, "Los cortejos en los funerales reales del Barroco: notas en torno a su origen y configuración", *Boletín de Arte* 10 (1989), pp. 121-140.

⁴³ Eadem, *Catafalcos reales del Barroco español. Un estudio de arquitectura efímera* (Madrid: UNED, 1991).

the Crown: canonisations, the Feast of Corpus Christi, celebrations, and *autos-da-fé*. At these ceremonies, one of the highest levels of interconnection between the political and religious spheres have been reached as, despite their clearly confessional content, all of them were held, above all, in honour of the monarchy. The Spanish saints increased the Catholic prestige of the Spanish monarchy but, also, canonisations provided an unrivalled occasion to show, at the centre of Catholic religion, the temple of St. Peter, the unbreakable union between the kings of Spain and Catholicism. A paradigmatic case was the canonisation of the King of Castile, Ferdinand III. Undoubtedly, the sanctification of the King, accelerated by the will of Philip IV, was intended to give a sacred content to the Spanish monarchy. Although the hagiographic milestone that marked those types of celebrations in Madrid was the quintuple canonisation in 1622 of St. Isidore the Farmer, St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Philip Neri, and St. Theresa of Jesus. Probably the best and most outstanding example of the religious processional ritual of all those in the calendar of Madrid during the Modern Period was the celebration of *Corpus Domini*.⁴⁴ In Madrid, the event was not only full of Counter-Reformation content but was also celebrated in the capital of the Spanish Habsburgs, the dynasty which had made a sign of identity of the devotion to the Sacramental bread. The presence of the court added an exceptional leader to the normal participants in the ritual. The different mobile components of the corpus court represented the fight between good and evil, of which the sacrament had been victorious (Fig. 2.7). Many watercolour paintings of the machines and carriages commissioned for it by the Madrid Town Hall have been preserved until the present day.

THE ROYAL ESTATES AND THE MOVED COURT

The choice of Madrid as the capital and location of the court of the Spanish monarchy not only meant the establishment of a complete political festivity system in Madrid, but also resulted in the creation of a wide network of suburban palaces in the outskirts of the city, from the Buen Retiro Palace close by, to the far away the Royal Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso. It also led to the development of locations in which the king exclusively enjoyed hunting, one of the main entertainments of the Spanish kings, such as Valsain or Casa de Campo.⁴⁵

The Buen Retiro was the starting point or the location of many celebrations: swearing in, funerals, royal welcomings, etc. It contained the Royal Room of the Monastery of St. Jerome the Royal in Madrid.⁴⁶ Around this original core, in the times of Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares, a great recreational palace was developed. With the construction of the great palace of the Planet King, the triumphal welcomings of the kings started to take place in the royal rooms of the palace, following the same tours as described in the previous cases. Additionally, this space soon became the heart of cultural life and festivities in the court of Madrid, with very versatile spaces such as

⁴⁴ Javier PORTÚS PÉREZ, *La antigua procesión del Corpus Christi de Madrid* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1993).

⁴⁵ José Luis SANCHO, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales. Catálogo histórico de los Palacios, Jardines y Patronatos Reales del Patrimonio Nacional* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1996).

⁴⁶ Jonathan BROWN, John ELLIOT, *Un palacio para el rey* (Madrid: Taurus, 2003).

the Plaza Grande, the square Prado Alto de San Jerónimo, the great pond in the park, the Coliseo, the Salón del Trono, the gardens, etc.

The Royal Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso was chosen by the first Bourbon king, Philip V, as a place of retreat after his desired abdication in 1724. He commissioned the construction from Teodoro Ardemans, although the façades would be completed afterwards by Filippo Juvarra and Giovanni Battista Sacchetti, and the gardens by René Carlier. The gardens of La Granja de San Ildefonso demonstrate how the outdoor space became, from the 18th century onwards, one of the key elements in festivities, days off and ceremonies of the European Baroque courts. With a Versaillesque model, the Spanish court gardens became a place in which to stroll, have evening events, enjoy comedies, masquerades or refreshments; a space for the king and his court to be entertained, a garden model which clearly revealed, with the proliferation of mazes, one of the key elements of Baroque court gardens.

The Royal Estate of Aranjuez was yet another of the festive palaces of the Spanish kings, of which many different images have been preserved. The biggest water performance in Spain in 18th century, the Squadron of the Tagus (*Escuadra del Tajo*), took place around it. This entertainment was designed by Carlo Broschi, globally known as Farinelli, considered by many the greatest opera singer of all times.⁴⁷ Since 1737, Farinelli directed the staging of concerts and operas of the court, especially in the coliseum of the Buen Retiro Palace. After Philip V's death, Philip VI appointed him the director of royal entertainment. As a result of his new responsibilities, in 1758 prepared a very interesting manuscript: *Description of the current state of the Real Teatro del Buen Retiro of the shows staged there from 1747 until the present time: of its individuals, salaries and jobs, as explained in this First book. In the second one, the annual entertainment of Our Masters, the Kings, enjoy, in the Real Sitio de Aranjuez* (Library of Palacio Real). As the title indicates, it is the narration of some of the entertainment activities organised under his direction to entertain the kings and relieve them from the boredom of the court, illustrated in opaque watercolour paintings representing the preparation of the musical and theatrical activities organised by him, and the musicals on the water of the Squadron of the Tagus. In addition to the coloured paintings that decorate Farinelli's manuscript, there is an abundant iconography of the Squadron of the Tagus: it can be seen in full performance in two *vedutas* of Francesco Battaglioli: *The guests arriving to the Palace of Aranjuez to celebrate the festivity of St. Ferdinand* and *Ferdinand VI and Barbara of Portugal with their guests in the gardens of the Royal Estate of Aranjuez celebrating the festivity of St. Ferdinand* (both in the Prado Museum, 1756). The rendering of those events is provided also in the painting by Diego Villanueva, entitled *View of the Royal Estate of Aranjuez from the road to Madrid* (Library of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1757) and in the painting by Antonio Joli, "View of the Royal Estate, the palace and the gardens of Aranjuez" (Naples, Palazzo Reale di Napoli, after 1762).) (Fig. 2.8).

⁴⁷ Consolación MORALES BORRERO, *Fiestas Reales en el reinado de Fernando VI* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1972 and 1987); AA. VV., *El Real Sitio de Aranjuez y el Arte Cortesano del siglo XVIII. Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en las Salas de exposiciones del Palacio Real de Aranjuez, abril-mayo 1987* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, 1987).

The city of Seville, which became the seat of the court of the Spanish king at the end of the decade of 1720, had a distant, but known, court period. The interesting period in which the Spanish court was moved to Seville, between 1729 and 1733, is known in history as the Royal Lustrum.⁴⁸ However, it was a very different event from that of the relocation of Philip III to Valladolid. In the first place, the person that faced the change of home in this case was Queen Elisabeth Farnese, who was looking to drag her husband, Philip V, away from the routine of Madrid, and find a cure for his depression in the most intimate city of Andalusia. This same reason provides the other key to understanding the differences between both episodes: Valladolid under Philip III was a public court with a great number of festivities, welcomings, arrivals of diplomatic courts, journeys of the king and triumphal returns; whereas Seville under the sick Philip V was a festive and artistic city, yet the king remained in seclusion in the Real Alcázar of the city. However, there are no images of the stay in Valladolid, while the stay in Seville was represented abundantly. The most relevant image of this period is the engraving of Pedro Tortolero entitled *Entrance of Philip V in Seville in 1729* (Fig. 2.9), published in *Anales Eclesiásticos y seglares de la MN y ML Ciudad de Sevilla* written by Lorenzo Bautista de Zúñiga, (The substantial economic efforts of the city of Seville caused the planned short stay to last more than five years, with a countless list of festivities, feasts in Arenal, trips along the Guadalquivir river in boats, paid for by the city, and the arrival of artists and architects that worked intensely in the court of Seville. When king Ferdinand VI ascended the throne, there were a series of magnificent festivities in the city of Seville, in honour of a person much connected to the city, as he had spent five years of his life in the city, living with his parents in the Real Alcázar, also he was named after its saint conqueror. Thus, from 6th to 9th of November 1746, Seville was the centre of numerous processions: three announcements, religious ceremonies, and two days of popular festivities with masquerades, dances, fireworks and theatre performances.

In conclusion, the court of the Spanish king featured, from the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century, a glorious period of festivities, with complex ideological and religious messages transmitted through hieroglyphs and royal propaganda expressed in the splendour of ephemeral architecture and urban embellishments, either in Toledo, Madrid, or Valladolid, or the place to which the court was moved: the Royal Estates, Seville, or even border cities when a marriage was celebrated. Fortunately, there is a rich heritage of all that festive magnificence, preserved in images on canvas, prints, drawings, and festive narrations, which is the basis of the research presented here.

⁴⁸ See Nicolás RESEÑAS MORALES, Fernando QUILES GARCÍA, *Sevilla y Corte. Las artes y el Lustrum Real (1729-1733)* (Madrid: Colección de la Casa de Velázquez, 2010); Aurora LEÓN ALONSO, *Iconografía y fiesta durante el lustrum real, 1729-1733* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1990); Francisco OLLERO LOBATO, *La Plaza de San Francisco. Escena de la Fiesta Barroca* (Sevilla: Editorial Monema, 2013).

CHAPTER III
PALERMO: A BAROQUE CAPITAL OF KINGS

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Palermo was transformed throughout the 17th century into a highly theatrical gallery of kings. Far more than other capitals belonging to the Spanish crown, its streets and squares bristled with effigies of its distant monarchs (Fig. 3.1). At the start of the early modern period, the sprawling streets of the capital of Sicily still retained their medieval nature, with very few spots standing out as hierarchically dominant. Palermo was and is located in a privileged geographic enclave on the shores of the Mediterranean with its own natural harbor and, as a counterpoint to the port, home to some of the city's finest medieval palaces and churches, the Royal Palace and adjacent Cathedral were located on the opposite side of the city. The town's only thoroughfare, the Cassaro, ran between these two points and, while neither straight nor regular, connected them with the Praetorian Palace, the seat of the Senate. As Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna have shown, the visit of Charles V to Palermo was the starting point for its urban transformation into a Baroque city.⁴⁹ The winding Cassaro was interrupted by the buildings around the harbor, and during the visit of Charles V demonstrated its incapacity to provide an adequate stage for festivals.⁵⁰

The first series of urban reforms took place during the viceroyship of Marcantonio Colonna (1577-1584) and was centered on the remodeling and extension of the Cassaro, completed in 1581.⁵¹ This reform split the square-shaped town into two parts that lay on either side of a broad, perfectly straight avenue forming a visual axis between Porta Felice and Porta Nuova, the two monumental entrances to the city that were constructed at each end of the remodeled Cassaro by the order of Viceroy Colonna.⁵² The Porta Nuova, leading out towards Monreale and adjoining the Royal Palace, was completed in 1583, and took as its ideological inspiration the triumphal entry of Charles V into the city in 1535.⁵³ The second of the city gates, the Porta Felice, was commissioned by Viceroy Colonna in 1582 to provide Palermo with a magnificent

⁴⁹ Maria Luisa MADONNA, "Palermo nel '500, la rifondazione della 'Città Felice'", *Psicon* 7 (1976), pp. 40-65. Marcello FAGIOLO, Maria Luisa MADONNA, *Il Teatro del Sole. La rifondazione di Palermo nel Cinquecento e l'idea della città barocca* (Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1981), pp. 11-24.

⁵⁰ For a general history of the urban development of Palermo, see Cesare DA SETA, Leonardo DI MAURO, *Palermo* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2002). A chronological summary of the urban transformation of the city may also be found in Gaetano BLANDI, *Palermo. Storia dello sviluppo urbanistico della città dalle origini all'età contemporanea* (Palermo: Axon, 1998).

⁵¹ Aldo CASAMENTO, *La rettifica della strada del Cassaro a Palermo: una esemplare realizzazione urbanistica nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 2000).

⁵² See Antonino MONGITORE, *Le porte della città di Palermo al presente esistenti, descritte da Lipario Triziano palermitano* (Palermo: nella stamperia di Antonino Grimignani, 1732). With regard to this intervention, see MADONNA, *Palermo*, op. cit., pp. 40-65.

⁵³ Salvo DI MATEO, *La Porta Nuova a Palermo* (Palermo: Giada, 1990).

triumphal entrance.⁵⁴ Designed by the architect Mariano Smiriglio, the new gate's monumentality also contributed to the consolidation of Palermo's sea front, an intrinsic part of city life from this point on.⁵⁵

In addition to the straightening and extension of the Cassaro avenue, the viceroy was also responsible for the construction of the Strada Colonna, a seafront promenade from the Porta dei Greci to the Porta Felice. Here the Senate ordered the construction of a permanent theatre designed by the architect Paolo Amato in 1681,⁵⁶ and the erection of a statue of Charles II by Giovanni Travaglia in 1687.⁵⁷ This area was to undergo further development with the addition of paintings and sculptures of the kings of Sicily along the walls, transforming the Strada Colonna into a theatrical set piece for royalty (Fig 3.2).⁵⁸

A few years after the remodeling of the Cassaro, during the viceroyship of the Duke of Maqueda, the Strada Nuova or Via Maqueda was opened up, running perpendicular to the Cassaro and thus forming a cross that divided the city into four districts, while the crossing point with the Cassaro became the geographical and symbolic center of the city.⁵⁹ This plan was largely conditioned by the location on that point of the Praetorian Palace, the seat of the Senate, whose centrality was further emphasized by the enormous fountain set up by Camillo Camiliani in the Piazza Pretoria (Fig 3.3).⁶⁰

⁵⁴ This would not be completed until several years later. See Alessandro GIULIANA ALAJMO, "Porta Felice, il suo architetto, i suoi artefici", *L'illustrazione siciliana* 16-17 (1949), pp. 10-22; Maria GIUFFRÈ, "Porta Felice e i progetti per Palermo fra Cinquecento e Seicento" in Gianfranco SPAGNESI (ed.), *L'architettura a Roma e in Italia*, vol. 2 (Roma: Centro di studi per la storia dell'architettura, 1989), pp. 351-360; Maria Sofia DI FEDE, "Il cantiere di Porta Felice a Palermo" *Storia-Architettura* 2 (1996), pp. 49-60.

⁵⁵ The sea front of Palermo is one of the key elements, if not the main one, of its urban iconography, and was used as such on many occasions. See Rosario LA DUCA, *Iconografia del porto di Palermo (1195-1860)* (Palermo: Stampatori tipolitografici associati, 1976).

⁵⁶ Anna TEDESCO, "'Applausi festivi': Music and the image of power in Spanish Italy", *Music in Art* 37 (2012), pp. 139-158.

⁵⁷ Vincenzo AURIA, *Historia cronologica delli signori viceré di Sicilia* (Palermo: Pietro Coppola, 1697), pp. 182-183. This work was preceded in 1864 in Messina by the equestrian sculpture with rampant horse modelled by the sculptor Giacomo Serpotta, commissioned directly by the Viceroy Count of Santisteban. See Giovanni CARANDENTE, *Giacomo Serpotta* (Turin: ERI, 1967), pp. 11-18.

⁵⁸ FAGIOLO, MADONNA, op. cit., pp. 143-153.

⁵⁹ For details on the town planning commissioned by Viceroy Maqueda, see, among others: Maria GIUFFRÈ, "Palermo «città murata» dal XVI al XIX secolo", *Quaderno dell'Istituto Dipartimentale di Architettura e Urbanistica, Università di Catania* 8 (1976), pp. 41-68; Enrio GUIDONI, *L'arte di progettare le città. Italia e Mediterraneo dal medioevo al settecento* (Roma: Kappa, 1992), pp. 169-197.

⁶⁰ Among the extensive bibliography on the Pretoria fountain, see Lia RUSSO, *La fontana di piazza Pretoria in Palermo* (Palermo: Telestar, 1971); Giuseppe LA MONICA, *Pantheon ambiguo: la fontana pretoria di Palermo nell'analisi formale e nel commento di Antonio Veneziano e Francesco Baronio Manfredi* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1987); Salvatore PEDONE, *La fontana Pretoria* (Palermo: La Ginestra, 1988); Maria Pia DEMMA, Giuseppina FAVARA (eds.), *La fontana pretoria in Palermo: hic fons, cui similis nullus in orbe patet* (Palermo: Soprintendenza ai beni culturali e ambientali, 2006); Marcella LA MONICA, *La Fontana Pretoria di Palermo: analisi stilistica e nuovo commento* (Palermo: Pitti, 2006).

At the intersection of the Cassaro and the Via Maqueda, the architects Giulio Lasso and Mariano Smiriglio designed the Piazza Vigliena, or Quattro Canti, on the orders of the viceroy Juan Fernández, Marquis of Villena (Fig. 3.4).⁶¹ The square had already become famous as a unique theatrical and monumental space long before it was completed,⁶² and it was used almost immediately for festivals and celebrations.⁶³

The decoration of the new square marked the beginning of the multiplication of royal images in the city.⁶⁴ The marble statues of Charles V, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV for the Quattro Canti, sculpted by Carlo d'Aprile, were completed in 1662,⁶⁵ but the Senate had also issued earlier orders in 1630 for bronze sculptures of Charles V and Philip IV to be made by Scipione Li Volsi, and of Philip II and Philip III by Giovanni Cola Viviano.⁶⁶ The commission for the bronze sculptures was later abandoned, and the statues of the Emperor and Philip IV, which had already been completed, were placed instead in the Piazza Bologni and the Piazza del Palazzo Reale, respectively. Moreover, the statue of Philip IV received – in the 1660s – the addition of a highly elaborate pedestal full of symbolic allusions to the power of the Spanish monarchy (Fig. 3.5).⁶⁷

The works mentioned above turned the capital of the kingdom of Sicily into one of the European cities most sharply defined by the image of royal power. Far more than in Madrid, Naples or Lima, the Spanish viceroys and the Senate of Palermo had done their utmost throughout the century to transform the city into a place where the image of their distant monarchs was always present.

The wealth of royal imagery in Palermo is paradigmatic when compared with other cities of similar or greater importance to the monarchy in the 17th century, and the lack of public sculptures in most Spanish capitals is a result of the way in which the Spanish Habsburgs presented themselves to their subjects.⁶⁸ The Spanish kings made

⁶¹ Giuditta FANELLI, *I Quattro Canti di Palermo. Il cantiere barocco nella cultura architettonica ed urbanistica della capitale vicereale* (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 1998).

⁶² Giovanni Battista MARINGO, *Fama dell'ottangolo palermitano, teatro del sole, e piazza Vigliena* (Palermo: Giovanni Battista Maringo, 1609).

⁶³ Filippo PARUTA, *Relatione delle feste fatte in Palermo nel MDCXXV per lo trionfo delle Gloriose Reliquie di S. Rosalia vergine palermitana* (Palermo, 1651).

⁶⁴ Maria Sofia DI FEDE, “Il cantiere dei Quattro Canti a Palermo: il progetto del 1619”, *Annali del Barocco in Sicilia* 2 (1995), pp. 49-59.

⁶⁵ Gemma SALVO BARCELLONA, Mario PECORARINO, *Gli scultori del Cassaro* (Palermo: Ingrana, 1971), pp. 251-253. See also Maria Sofia DI FEDE, “Urbis speculum: progetti, cantiere, protagonisti” in eadem, Fulvia SCADUTO (eds.), *I Quattro Canti di Palermo. Retorica e rappresentazione nella Sicilia del Seicento* (Palermo: Caracol, 2011), pp. 27-59.

⁶⁶ Salvatore SALOMONE MARINO, “L'autore della statua in bronzo a Carlo V in Palermo”, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 11 (1887), pp. 465-470. See also Antonio RAGONESE, Giuseppe RAGONESE, *La bottega d'arte dei Li Volsi, scultori tusani del XVII secolo* (Palermo, 1990).

⁶⁷ Francesco Angelo STRADA, *Dichiaratione del nuovo theatro che l'illustrissimo Senato di questa felice città di Palermo drizzo alla invittissima Maesta del re Filippo IV il grande dedicata all'illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo signore il signor Conte di Aiala e composta dal dottor D. Francesco Angelo Strada* (Palermo: nella Stamperia di Pietro dell'Isola, 1663). See Marcella LA MONICA, *Il monumento a Filippo V a Palermo. Stile e iconografia* (Palermo: Pitti, 2007).

⁶⁸ Gerard SABATIER, “Le roi caché et le roi soleil. De la monarchie en Espagne et en France au milieu du XVII siècle” in Charles MAZOUER (ed.), *L'âge d'or de l'influence espagnole. La France et l'Espagne à*

concealment part of their identity,⁶⁹ and while monuments with the ruler's image were by no means exceptional in themselves, it was therefore rare for them to be exhibited in public places.⁷⁰ An example is found as early as the 16th century in Leone Leoni's sculptures of Charles V, Philip II, Isabella of Portugal and Mary of Hungary.⁷¹ Above all, however, it is the use made of the monumental equestrian statues of Philip III, by Giambologna and Pietro Tacca, and of Philip IV, by the second of these sculptors, that provides the clearest evidence of the Spanish monarchy's unwillingness to exhibit monumental images of its members to the public (Fig. 3.6)⁷². They were kept hidden from general view, and a project to place them on the façade of the Alcázar palace was abandoned in 1675.⁷³

The absence of images of the kings of Spain in the court was mitigated by the presence of sculptures in some of the cities of their Italian possessions, such as Naples and Lecce.⁷⁴ However, in none of these was there such a vast accumulation of portraits as that found in the streets of Palermo. The Cassaro avenue, running in a straight line from the sea to the Royal Palace, was laid out as a processional route befitting the celebration of the prince's triumph. This is confirmed by the presence of sculptures of all the Spanish Habsburgs from Emperor Charles to Charles II. All together, they helped to exalt the institution of the Sicilian monarchy above the individual features of each one, thereby supporting the proclamation of a new monarch in the city by allowing him to present himself as the last link in a solid chain. On the other hand, however, the presence of images of the members of the House of Austria made it necessary to configure the iconography of a new prince, whatever his lineage, to fit in with them.

The multiplication of royal effigies in the city seems to have done much to pave the way for the ceremonial of the 18th century, and it also largely determined the contents of the proclamations and coronations that were held there. The ceremonies of

l'époque d'Anne d'Autriche, 1615-1666. Actes du 20e Colloque du C.M.R. 17, Bordeaux, 25-28 janvier 1990 (Bordeaux: Ed. Interuniversitaires, 1991), pp. 113-124; Gerard SABATIER, Sylvène EDOUARD, *Les monarchies de France et d'Espagne (1556-1715). Rituels et pratiques* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2001). See also Michel MARTIN, *Les monuments équestres de Louis XIV. Une grande entreprise de propagande monarchique* (Paris: Picard, 1986).

⁶⁹ See, for instance Fernando CHECA CREMADES, "Monarchic Liturgies and the 'Hidden King'. The Function and Meaning of Spanish Royal Portraiture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in Allan ELLENUS (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 89-104.

⁷⁰ John H. ELLIOT, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburg. A Peculiar Institution?" in idem, *Spain and Its World. 1500-1700* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 143-161.

⁷¹ Fernando MARIAS, "Diego de Villalta. Fortuna dell'opera dei Leoni nella Spagna del Cinquecento" in María Luisa GATTI PERER (ed.), *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna* (Milan: Istituto per la Storia dell'Arte Lombarda, 1995), pp. 97-103.

⁷² José Manuel MATILLA RODRÍGUEZ, *El caballo de bronce. La estatua ecuestre de Felipe IV. Arte y técnica al servicio de la Monarquía* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1997).

⁷³ Karin HELLWING-KONKERTH, "La estatua ecuestre de Felipe IV de Pietro Tacca y la fachada del Alcázar de Madrid", *Archivo Español de Arte* 250 (1990), pp. 232-241; Anthea BROOK, "Dynastic Statuary for Charles II of Spain", *Antologia delle Belle Arti* 52-55 (1996), pp. 112-125.

⁷⁴ Diane H. BODART, "La piazza quale teatro regio nei regni di Napoli e di Sicilia nel Seicento e nel Settecento" in Alessandro NOVA, Cornelia JÖCHNER (eds.), *Platz und Territorium. Urbane Struktur gestaltet politische Räume* (Berlin-Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), pp. 223-248.

the 18th century, with their continuous changes of dynasty, were to prove a test for the capacity of Palermo to acclaim their new kings and to make their image fit with the Habsburg's tradition. And as we shall see, the result was triumphant in every case.

THE 18TH CENTURY CHALLENGE

Following the death without an heir of Charles II (III of Sicily), the last of the Spanish kings of the Habsburg dynasty, his last will and testament stipulated that the inheritance of the Spanish monarchy, which included the Italian territories of Sardinia, Milan, Naples and Sicily, was to fall upon Philip V of Bourbon, the grandson of Luis XIV of France. The refusal by the Austrian branch of the Habsburg family to accept any transfer of Spanish possessions to a Bourbon led to the start of a war. After the conflict, the Peace of Utrecht left Sicily in the hands of Victor Amadeus II of Savoy, who exchanged it for Sardinia under the terms of a new treaty seven years later, in 1720, and granted the kingdom to Charles VI of Habsburg. Finally, in 1734, the conquest of Naples and Sicily by Charles III of Bourbon, the Duke of Parma and a son of Philip V, led to the expulsion of the imperial family. An independent state was born, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which would survive up to the unification of Italy. As it will be shown, this unusual succession of kings also contributed to the configuration of Palermo as a urban royal gallery, but their simulacra suffered a different fate from the Habsburgs.

The complex decorative program orchestrated throughout the city of Palermo to extol the figures of the new kings transformed the city into an immense throne room through the use of all the resources available to Baroque culture.⁷⁵ This type of laudatory assemblage has already been studied in great detail with reference to the throne room of Philip IV at the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid. The original arrangement of this great hall, which was decorated immediately after the inauguration ceremony of the palace in 1633, has been reconstructed by Brown and Elliott, who have clearly defined its four pictorial groups.⁷⁶ On the upper level were the twenty-four coats of arms corresponding to the territories making up the Spanish empire. At certain points there were the equestrian portraits of Philip IV and Elisabeth of France, accompanied by the king's father and mother, Philip III and Margaret of Austria, and his son, Baltasar Carlos. The remaining wall space was taken up by two pictorial series, one consisting of ten paintings by Zurbarán showing the labors of Hercules, and the other of twelve large historical paintings representing the main military exploits during of the reign of Philip IV.

Brown and Elliott have viewed the arrangement of the main area of Philip IV's Buen Retiro Palace as a *templum virtutis*, or temple of fame, designed to acclaim the

⁷⁵ See Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, *Cuatro reyes para Sicilia. Proclamaciones y coronaciones en Palermo (1700-1735)* (Castellón and Granada: Universitat Jaume I and Universidad de Granada, 2016).

⁷⁶ Jonathan BROWN, John H. ELLIOTT, *A Palace for a King: the Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 141-192. See also José ÁLVAREZ LOPERA, "La reconstrucción del Salón de Reinos. Estado y replanteamiento de la cuestión" in Andrés ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS (ed.), *El Palacio del Rey Planeta. Felipe IV y el Buen Retiro* (Madrid: Turner, 2005), pp. 91-111.

reigning monarch through the use of the iconographic resources of allegory, analogy and narrative. These elements, here combined within a single hall, were used again in Sicily at the beginning of the 18th century, since the traditional instruments of royal exaltation, such as heraldry, allegory, as well as historical and dynastic components, had to be manipulated to adapt them to kings who were atypical. The selected images do not appear to show any sense of incoherence in identifying the new princes with Normans, Aragonians or Habsburgs, or in pairing the king with antagonistic rulers. Everything was valid as far as the Sicilians were not extolling the monarch so much as the institution he represented.

The first transition of power in 18th century Sicily, from Charles II of Habsburg to Philip V of Bourbon, took place with total normality in 1700 and was narrated in the printed record of the royal exequies of Charles II at Palermo Cathedral.⁷⁷ In keeping with tradition, a marble statue of the king was sculpted by Giambattista Ragusa and erected for the occasion in the Piazza Marina, at the start of the ceremonial route along the Cassaro (Fig. 3.7).⁷⁸ Continuity with the past was a constant concern during the transitions of power in early 18th century Palermo. Philip V had virtually presented himself as a Habsburg during his entry into Madrid in 1701, seeking identification with the extinct dynasty that was evidently necessary.⁷⁹ His first effigies therefore showed him soberly dressed in the Spanish style, with the collar of the Golden Fleece around his neck. The use of the image for propaganda purposes during those turbulent years has been traced in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula,⁸⁰ but the examples in the case of Italy are even more striking.⁸¹

The best-known image of the new king of Spain, and the one which conditioned representations of him during the early years of his reign, is the magnificent portrait by Hyacinthe Rigaud, preserved at Versailles. This enormous likeness, designed as a partner to the same artist's portrait of Louis XIV now at the Louvre, is fraught with political implications, whether considered on its own or with its pendant⁸². Dressed in the Spanish style, Philip is shown with his right hand resting on the crown, the collar of the Golden Fleece around his neck, and the cross of the Holy Spirit on his breast. His pose is very similar to his grandfather's, and the family air is obvious. While not

⁷⁷ Diego DE LOYA, *Ocaso de el mejor sol (...) Noticias fúnebres (...) en el ocaso de Carlos II...* (Palermo: Real Estampa de Felix Marmio, 1701).

⁷⁸ Antonio MONGITORE, *Il trionfo palermitano nella solenne acclamazione del católico re delle Spagne, e di Sicilia. Filippo V. festeggiata in Palermo a 30 di Gennaro 1701* (Palermo: per Felice Marino, 1701).

⁷⁹ Teresa ZAPATA FERNÁNDEZ DE LA HOZ, "Alegorías, historias, fábulas y símbolos en los jeroglíficos de la entrada de Felipe V en la corte. Pervivencia de la iconografía de los Austrias" in Margarita TORRIONE (ed.), *España festejante. El siglo XVIII* (Málaga: Diputación de Málaga, 2000), pp. 405-421

⁸⁰ María José DEL RÍO BARREDO, "Los rituales públicos de Madrid en el cambio de dinastía (1700-1710)" in Eliseo SERRANO MARTÍN (ed.), *Felipe V y su tiempo* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004), pp. 733-752.

⁸¹ Diane H. BODART, "Philippe V ou Charles III? La guerre des portraits à Rome et dans les royaumes italiens de la Couronne d'Espagne" in Antonio ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO et al. (ed.), *La pérdida de Europa. La Guerra de Sucesión por la Monarquía de España* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2007), pp. 99-133.

⁸² Donald POSNER, "The genesis and political purposes of Rigaud's portraits of Louis XIV and Phillip V", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 140 (1998), pp. 77-90.

intended to form a pair, although they were probably meant to be hung close to each other, the portraits simultaneously express both the bond between the two kingdoms ruled by members of the Bourbon dynasty, and also their independence from each other. The two pictures were painted immediately after the departure of the Duke of Anjou for Spain, and were to be sent to him in Madrid. In the event, however, they never left France. As Posner has shown, their delivery was delayed by circumstances that included the making of copies in Paris, and by Philip V's absence from his new capital in order to visit Naples and Milan. Furthermore, the hostilities that led to the War of the Spanish Succession were already building up in 1701, rendering the iconography of the portraits inappropriate.

This continuity in the images of the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties appears to have been especially suited to the Crown's Italian domains. During the transition of power, an effort was made to transmit a sensation of total normality. The viceroy, who organized the proclamation, had held the same position under the Habsburg Charles II. Neither should it be forgotten that the erection of a new sculpture was a continuation of the policy of displaying public effigies of all the monarchs since the Emperor Charles V.

As a result of the Treaties of Utrecht, in 1713 Sicily was ceded by Philip V to the Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy,⁸³ and the coronation of the new king and the transient festivals and decorations prepared in Palermo to celebrate the occasion were described in lavish detail in the luxurious tome printed and illustrated by order of the Senate to commemorate the event.⁸⁴

To commemorate the coronation in 1713, Giovanni Battista Ragusa sculpted reliefs of Victor Amadeus of Savoy and Queen Anne Marie to be set into the façade of the Senate Palace of Palermo and a high relief portraying the coronation was also commissioned from the same sculptor for Palermo Cathedral, where it is still to be seen in the south portico (Fig. 3.8)⁸⁵

After the return of Victor Amadeus II and Anne Marie d'Orléans to Turin, in 1720 the Treaty of The Hague bizarrely placed the island in the hands of the Emperor

⁸³ A splendid account of the ensuing loss of European territories by Philip V may be found in: Pere MOLAS RIBALTA, "Qué fue de Italia y Flandes?" in Antonio ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO et al. (eds.), *La pérdida de Europa. La Guerra de Sucesión por la Monarquía de España* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2007), pp. 693-715.

⁸⁴ Pietro VITALE, *La felicità in trono sull'arrivo, acclamazione, e coronatione delle reali maestà di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, e di Anna d'Orleans da Francia, ed Inghilterra. Re', e Regina di Sicilia Gerusalemme, e Cipro. Celebrata con gli applausi di tutto il Regno tra' le pompe di Palermo reggia, e capitale descritta per ordine dell'Illustrissimo Senato palermitano dall'abbate Don Pietro Vitale segretario di esso* (Palermo: nella Regia Stamperia di Agostino Epiro, Stampatore di S.S.R.M., 1714). See Elisabeth WÜNSCHE-WERDEHAUSEN, "'La felicità in trono'. L'entrata di Vittorio Amedeo II a Palermo nel 1713", *Artes* 13 (2005-2007), pp. 361-388; Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, "La coronación de Vittorio Amedeo de Saboya en 1713. Acerca del ritual como pacto entre el príncipe y sus súbditos" in Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA (eds.), *Visiones de un Imperio en fiesta* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2016), pp. 269-292.

⁸⁵ BARCELONA, PECORARINO, op. cit., p. 266; Valeria SOLA, "Sculptura a Palermo per Carlo III di Borbone" in Enrico Iachello (ed.), *I Borbone in Sicilia (1734-1860)* (Catania: Giuseppe Maimone Editore, 1998), pp. 102-109.

Charles VI of Habsburg, who took Milan in 1706, followed by taking Naples in 1707, and finally Sicily in 1720.⁸⁶ The festivities to celebrate the official proclamation of the new monarch were recorded, again, in several festival books,⁸⁷ and for the ceremony two figures of Charles V and Charles VI were placed face to face. A similar comparison had been made in 1678, when two equestrian monuments of Charles II and the Emperor Charles V sculpted by Giuseppe Zimbalo and Cesare Bofelli were raised in the main square of Lecce, in the kingdom of Naples.⁸⁸ This was not the only occasion on which the visual propaganda of Emperor Charles VI sought a clear identification with the Spanish branch of the family, and particularly with the last of the Hispanic Habsburgs. Just as Charles II had made the Inquisition and the public *auto da fe* one of the key elements of his Catholic image, Charles VI did the same with the *auto da fe* held in Palermo in 1724, another clear demonstration of dynastic continuity.⁸⁹

Following his ascent to the throne of Sicily, the Emperor Charles VI also left his mark on the city with a monument whose history has been described in detail by Alexander Grönert.⁹⁰ In 1723, the Emperor decided to have a piazza with a central commemorative column created in front of the church of San Domenico, the designs for which had been sent to Vienna by the architect Tommaso Maria Napoli. The monument, finally constructed and completed in 1727 under the direction of Giovanni Biaggio Amico, incorporated the sculptures of Charles VI and the Empress Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel on its pedestal. This Marian column therefore became a monument to the *pietas austriaca* and the new king of Sicily, leading to the creation of an imperial piazza, but after the conquest of Sicily in 1734 by Charles of Bourbon,

⁸⁶ Marcello Verga (ed.), *Dilatar l'Impero in Italia. Asburgo e Italia nel primo Settecento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1995).

⁸⁷ *Il festino della felicità nel cuore, nella bocca, en ella pompa di Palermo, sulla trionfal acclamazione di Carlo VI Imperatore, III Re delle Spagne, e di Sicilia. Stretto in breve relazione d'ordine dell'Illustrissimo Senato Palermitano* (Palermo: nella regia stamperia d'Antonio Epiro, 1720); Domenico Turano, *Apparato fatto in Palermo nel Collegio Imperiale di Studi da' PP. Della Compagnia di Giesu l'anno 1720 in occasione della solenne acclamazione dell'Imperatore Carlo VI, e III Re delle Spagne, e di Sicilia, descritto dal P. Domenico Turano della medesima Compagnia, cogli epigrammi, ed emblemi dell'istesso autore* (Palermo: per Cristoforo d'Anselmo, 1720); *L'Armeria e la galleria dell'augustissima Casa d'Austria aperte, ed esposte per illustrare la sollemnità di S. Rosalia V.P. celebrata nell'anno 1721* (Palermo: Antonino Epiro, 1721).

⁸⁸ Vincenzo CAZZATO, *Lecce* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1988), pp. 45-100.

⁸⁹ Antonino MONGITORE, *L'atto pubblico di fede solennemente celebrato nella città di Palermo a 6 aprile 1724 dal Tribunale del S. Uffizio di Sicilia. Dedicato alla maestà c.c. di Carlo VI imperadore, e III re di Sicilia* (Palermo: nella stamperia di Antonino Epiro, 1724). See Marina TORRES ARCE, "Otra herencia de los Austrias en la corte de los Habsburgo: la inquisición de Carlos VI (1705-1734)" in José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, Rubén GONZÁLEZ CUERVA (eds.), *La Dinastía de los Austria. Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011), pp. 289-334.

⁹⁰ See Alexander GRÖNERT, "Progetti e attività edilizia in piazza S. Domenico a Palermo", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 34-39 (1999-2002), pp. 463-468; idem, "Independence in the imperial realm: political iconography and urbanism in eighteenth-century Palermo" in Charlotte CHASTEL-ROUSSEAU (ed.), *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-century Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 131-152.

however, the sculptures in the Piazza San Domenico were replaced by those of the new king and his wife, Maria Amalia of Saxony.⁹¹

In 1734 the Habsburgs were expelled from the throne of Sicily as the result of a war of conquest and Charles of Bourbon, the second son of Philip V, took Naples and Sicily in 1734.⁹² The new king celebrated his oath, anointment and coronation in Palermo and the ceremonies were duly recorded by the printing of an exquisite coronation book.⁹³ Those celebrations laid emphasis on the idea of continuity between Philip V and Charles of Bourbon, father and son, ignoring the twenty-two years of Savoyard and Austrian government.

The Bourbon dynasty's recovery of their lost lands was completed with the restoration of the statue of Philip V that had been raised in 1701 in the Piazza Marina, which was replaced in its original position with a new pedestal designed by Nicolò Palma. The festival book records that a commemorative relief of the coronation was set in place on the portico of the Cathedral (Fig. 3.9), similar to that made for the Duke of Savoy, and the Senate of Palermo commissioned Giovanni Marino to modify the large sculptural plaque that is now preserved inside the building.⁹⁴

A further monument to the monarch was begun in December 1734.⁹⁵ The construction was a triumphal column surmounted by Lorenzo Marabiti's statue of Charles of Bourbon, accompanied by the personifications of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem together with allegories of the enemies of the crown. Along with the Habsburg and later Bourbon interventions in the Piazza San Domenico, the configuration of the area opposite the church of Sant'Anna was one of the most scenographic urban developments in 18th century Palermo.⁹⁶ Charles was once again presented to his subjects as a divinely appointed king, with the *vexillum* of the Holy Faith in one hand proclaiming him, in a sense, as the new Constantine. The scenography of this Caroline theatre in Palermo renewed the pact between prince and subjects in total adherence to the Spanish, and by extension Sicilian, monarchic tradition. The

⁹¹ Rosario LA DUCA, *La città perduta. Cronache palermitane di ieri e di oggi* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1976), pp. 107-108.

⁹² Giuseppe SENATORE, *Giornale storico di quanto avvenne ne' due reami di Napoli, e di Sicilia l'anno 1734, e 1735. Nella conquista che ne fecero le invitte Armie di Spagna sotto la condotta del glorioso nostro Re Carlo Borbone in qualità di Generalissimo del gran monarca cattolico* (Napoli: nella Stamperia Blasiana, 1742).

⁹³ Pietro LA PLACA, *La Reggia in Trionfo per l'acclamazione, e coronazione della Sacra Real Maestà di Carlo Infante di Spagna, Re di Sicilia, Napoli e Gerusalemme, Duca di Parma, Piacenza, e Castro, Gran Principe Ereditario della Toscana ordinata dall'Eccellentissimo Senato Palermitano* (Palermo: nella Regia Stamperia di Antonino Epiro, 1735). See Gioacchino LANZA TOMASI, *Le feste di Carlo III (Palermo 1735 e 1738)* (Palermo: Esse, 1970); Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, "La reggia in trionfo. 1735. La coronación de Carlos de Borbón en Palermo y 'gli splendori della magnificenza'", *Reales Sitios* 188 (2011), pp. 50-67.

⁹⁴ SOLA, op. cit., pp. 102-109.

⁹⁵ *Ragguaglio della funzione fatta nella felice, e fedelissima città di Palermo nel gittarsi la prima pietra p'el nuovo teatro alla statua di S. R. M. Carlo Borbone. Infante di Spagna III Re di Sicilia, di Napoli, e di Gerusalemme, Duca di Parma* (Palermo: appresso Angelo Felicella, 1734).

⁹⁶ Alexander GRÖNERT, *Die Fassade von S. Anna la Misericordia in Palermo: ein emblematisches Werk des sizilianischen Barock* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universität Tübingen, 1997), pp. 26-29.

monument to Charles of Bourbon, the fourth of the “legitimate” kings of Sicily within a century that had barely started, renewed his authority not only through the ancient symbols of the Sicilian monarchy, but also those proper to Habsburg Spain.

EPHEMERAL KINGS

The pre-eminence of the Senate during the proclamations and coronations largely explains the construction of new royal monuments, but little remains to recall the explosion of pageantry in Palermo at the beginning of the 18th century. The city already contained a vast array of effigies of past monarchs, and the vertiginous succession of dynasties during the first decades of the century also left its mark on Palermo. Most of the royal simulacra of the Spanish Habsburgs can still be admired in Piazza Vigliena, Piazza Bologni or the Royal Palace square, but the royal statues erected between 1700 and 1735 to sing the praises of the successive kings of Sicily proved as ephemeral as their protagonists. Hidden, transformed or simply destroyed, there is no longer any trace of these figures in the streets of Palermo. The only visible remains are the kneeling figures of Victor Amadeus of Savoy and Charles of Bourbon, shown at their coronations and set into the portico of the Cathedral. The Habsburgs survived, but the new kings can only be seen in the images that show them humbly swearing allegiance to the laws of the kingdom, perhaps because these are the only ones that Palermo wished to see.

CHAPTER IV
FESTIVE COURTS IN THE NEW WORLD: THE POLITICAL JOURNEY OF LUIS DE VELASCO Y
CASTILLA IN THE AMERICAN VICEROYALTIES

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The European monarchies of the Early Modern Age used a huge amount of symbolic and eloquent resources to be perceived by the inhabitants of their kingdoms and cities as legitimate, magnificent, and necessary rulers. Among these resources the remarkable ones are: the construction of public buildings and the representations of monarchs in courtly portraiture or public statuary, as well as real royal *simulacra* in the centres of each important city.⁹⁷ The Hispanic monarchy is the most complete and complex example, since not only the seat of the court of the monarch, Madrid, and its surroundings enjoyed such symbolic display. Political messages were also delivered to each court of the different Hispanic kingdoms, a true galaxy around the lineage of the King of the Planet: Seville, Granada, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valencia, or Palma de Mallorca; Naples, Palermo, Cagliari and Milan in the Italian lands; Brussels, or Bruges in the Netherlands; Mexico City and Lima in America or Manila in Asia; and also to Lisbon and the cities of the Portuguese Empire, from Goa to Macao, in the period of integration of both Iberian monarchies (fig. 1).⁹⁸

Some of those cities still preserve urban plans and monuments, which allows us to trace the Early Modern symbolic organization, as in the case of Palermo and its numerous royal Spanish *simulacra*.⁹⁹ Other cities, such as Valencia or Palma de Mallorca, preserve the series of portraits that the city councils or the kingdom authorities commissioned during the 17th and 18th centuries. In some of those courts, such as the one in Naples, royal palaces were built in the time of the Habsburgs, with documental memory of large portrait galleries, devoted to kings and also to viceroys. But in many of those cities, the symbolic trace of the Spanish monarchy has almost

⁹⁷ Classical studies, which established the research lines of courtly and festive art include: Yves BOTTINEAU, *El arte cortesano en la España de Felipe V* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1985); Roy STRONG, *Arte y poder: fiestas del Renacimiento: 1450 – 1650* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988).

⁹⁸ The project *Triunfos Barrocos*, directed by Víctor Mínguez, seeks to study the Early Modern festivals and to make a catalogue of its images in the different territories of the Hispanic monarchy. Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, *La Fiesta Barroca: El Reino de Valencia (1599 – 1802)* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2010); Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, *La Fiesta Barroca: Los virreinos americanos (1560 – 1808)* (Castellón– Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universitat Jaume I – Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2012); Víctor Mínguez, Pablo González Tornel, Juan Chiva Beltrán, Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La Fiesta Barroca: Los Reinos de Nápoles y Sicilia* (Castellón– Palermo: Universitat Jaume I – Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana “Alberto Bombace”, 2014); Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, *La Fiesta Barroca: La corte del rey (1555-1808)* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2016); Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, *La Fiesta Barroca: Portugal y el Imperio Oceánico* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2018).

⁹⁹ Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Víctor MÍNGUEZ, *Cuatro Reyes para Sicilia. Proclamaciones y coronaciones en Palermo, 1730 – 1735* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I – Universidad de Granada, 2016).

completely disappeared: this is the case of Lisbon or Brussels. In American and Asian cities, the independence processes of the 19th century and the creation of new national imageries, has almost completely diluted the presence of the Spanish monarchy, except for the patronage over local devotions, from the Virgin of Guadalupe to the Virgin of Copacabana, from St. Francis Solanus to St. Rose of Lima.¹⁰⁰ However, the three elements mentioned above were widely present in those cities across the ocean, and a detailed study of its urban plans and its heritage, sometimes missing heritage, easily reveals it. In first place, the representative buildings of the monarchy still exist in the case of New Spain and the Philippines, from the Palace of the Viceroy – now the National Palace – in Mexico City, to the Fuerza de Santiago in Manila, with shields and sculptural reliefs that reveal its belonging to the Hispanic world. In the case of the Palace of Lima, in the Plaza de Armas, the building that today occupies the presidential palace is a republican one, but maps of the city dated in the 17th and 18th centuries reveal the shape, traces and appearance of the Peruvian viceregal residence. As for the portraiture, some notable examples of portraits for the occasion of oaths of various monarchs are preserved, but there is also the memory of galleries and the interesting presence of the missing copy of the *Portrait of Charles V at the Battle of Muhlberg* by Titian in the Hall of the Royal Agreement of the Mexican palace, the room that symbolized the agreement of inclusion of New Spain into the Spanish monarchy, and where the viceroy met the members of the Royal Audience of Mexico.¹⁰¹ The royal *simulacra* were also common in viceregal America, although in most cases the works disappeared in the Early Modern Age, or were but ephemeral structures, the memory of which we preserve through engravings, festive books or fragments displayed in museums. Such would be the case of the *Column of Fernando VI* in Mexico or the *Column of Carlos III* in Puebla. There are two really remarkable exceptions: *Equestrian Portrait of Carlos IV* made by the Valencian Manuel Tolsá, erected in the *Plaza Mayor* of Mexico (Fig. 2), now standing between the National Museum of Art and the Palacio de Minería, and the complete collection of *simulacra* preserved in the streets and bastions within city walls, the historic centre of Manila, where the *Portrait of Charles IV* by Juan Adán stands out.¹⁰²

However, the most reliable resources instrumental for the understanding the symbolic development of the presence of the monarchs in America are, without any doubt, the festivals. Ceremonies filled the cities of the Early Modern Age with ephemeral decorations and architecture showing to the public – through canvases, statuary, luminaries, fireworks, emblems and hieroglyphics – an ideology that extolled the system of government, and above all, the belonging of the American vicerealties and subjects to the lands reigned by a magnanimous and powerful king, sent by God to

¹⁰⁰ A model study of the political implications of certain devotions in America is by Ramón MÚJICA PINILLA, *Rosa Limensis. Mística, política e iconografía entorno a la patrona de América* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013).

¹⁰¹ Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, “La Sala del Real Acuerdo de México en el siglo XVII. La red de palacios virreinales del imperio hispánico” in Rafael LÓPEZ GUZMÁN, Yolanda GUASCH MARÍ, Guadalupe ROMERO SÁNCHEZ (eds.), *América: Cultura visual y relaciones artísticas* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2015), pp. 389-397.

¹⁰² Pedro LUENGO MARTÍNEZ, “El Monumento a Carlos IV en Manila, obra de Juan Adán”, *Academia. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 108 – 109 (2009), pp. 65-79.

rule them. We must emphasize in this sense, at least, three broad festive typologies linked to the exercise and representation of power. First of them, the religious celebration, closely linked to the royal devotions and the dissemination of the terms of the Council of Trent, both in the case of local devotions – Guadalupe, Copacabana, Our Lady of Guaya, St. Rose of Lima, St. Toribio de Mogrovejo, St. Francis Solanus or St. Philip of Jesus and the Martyrs of Japan –, and that ones related to the monarchy or to the ruling house – the apostle St. James, the canonized kings St. Isabel de Portugal or St. Fernando, the Eucharist, or the Immaculate Conception. The key moments in the Hispanic religious celebrations were the great festivals for canonizations related to the territories of the monarchy, highlighting St. Louis Bertrand, St Rose of Lima, St. Ignatius of Loyola, or the Franciscan and Jesuit martyrs of Japan. Secondly, any celebration linked to the political and vital cycle of the monarchs was really important: births of new heirs, princes or infants, marriages, onomastic celebrations, or great victories in the battlefields. In this sense, there are two key moments: the death of a king and his public funeral, and – a few weeks later – the oaths and proclamations of his heir in all the cities of the monarchy. Both ceremonies were closely linked the entire Hispanic world, they were meant to demonstrate the mourning for the death of a king, and then the fidelity to the heir with all kinds of public celebrations. It was a process that symbolized the effective change of the ruler, and the survival of the dynasty in power.

For the American territories, especially for New Spain and Peru, we must add a third constant constituent to those political celebrations: the vice-regal festivals. Two theoretical approaches to this particular figure in the Spanish monarchy may help us understand its relevance in the representation and symbols of the monarchy in America. In the first place, Víctor Mínguez clarified in *Los reyes distantes* how, for more than three hundred years, no Hispanic king travelled to America, and therefore his presence on the continent was verified by a series of symbolic elements: portraits, statues, coins, medals and, above all, the festivals, which – through emblems, hieroglyphs, and luminary elements – showed the American subjects the effigy and virtues of their monarch.¹⁰³ In the second place, the special symbolic relevance of the viceroy, who became the monarch's alter ego, his true living image according to the thesis of Alejandro Cañeque in *The King's Living Image*.¹⁰⁴ In this way, the viceroy was personally responsible for organizing, verifying, and oftentimes paying for, all the rituals and ceremonies linked to the monarchy: the choice of temples for the funerals, the elaboration of the iconographic programmes, poems, writers, and artists, or the composition of the festive commissions. However, another festival of very special significance was celebrated with some regularity in the European courts: that of the triumphal entrances and visits of the monarchs to the different kingdoms and cities. This was the case of most Iberian cities: proclamations in Madrid, triumphal entrances of each monarch in Seville, Granada, Valencia, or Barcelona, also in the particular case of Lisbon, and even in some islands and Italian cities, such as Palma de Mallorca, Palermo, or Naples. However, such celebrations were never held in America, and for that reason the viceroy became that “living image of the king” and received, through

¹⁰³ Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, *Los reyes distantes* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ Alejandro CAÑEQUE, *The King's Living Image. The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

triumphs and journeys, all the symbolic weight of royal entrances in European cities. If the portrait of the monarch was the living image of the king in the proclamations, the viceroy was in the celebration of triumphs.

The bibliography studying the political celebrations in New Spain and Peru, both in general terms and analysing concrete and local cases, is huge nowadays, and has been constantly renewed over the last twenty years. In this contribution, we are interested in studying how the Hispanic monarchy developed symbolically in America through the figure of the viceroy as patron, organizer, and recipient of festivals and ceremonies. Although general processes are demonstrated to understand this period better, attention has been focused on a specific person: viceroy Luis de Velasco y Castilla, born in 1539, who died in 1617, who lived at the turn of the century; and the succession of two monarchs.

LUIS DE VELASCO AND THE TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH NEW SPAIN

Viceroy Luis de Velasco y Castilla (Fig. 3) was related to two of the most important families of *Grandeza de España* – the houses at the top of the nobility in Early Modern Spain – as was usual among the occupants of the vice-regal throne in the 16th and 17th centuries: in his case with the Velasco and Mendoza families. He was born in 1539 in Carrión de los Condes, and his father was also named Luis de Velasco, third lord of Salinas and second viceroy of New Spain. Therefore, Luis belongs to the House of Velasco, one of the most ancient lineages in modern and medieval Spain: they linked their lineage to the origins of the Kingdom of Castile, tracing the invented dynastic trees back to Fernán González, the first Castilian count. From the marriage between Juan Fernandez de Velasco (1368-1418) and Maria Solier we can draw the two most interesting family lines for this contribution. Their first-born son Pedro added to his titles that of the count of Haro, and his descendant inaugurated the hereditary line of *Condestables de Castilla*, patrons of artistic works of great importance, such as the Velasco Tower, the Frias Castle, the Alcázar de Velasco, the Monastery of St. Clare in Medina de Pomar and, above all, the Casa del Cordón and the Condestables Chapel in the most important Castilian city of the Middle Ages, Burgos.¹⁰⁵ The second son, Hernando de Velasco, was chamberlain of the Castilian king Juan II, inaugurated the lordships of Siruela and Salinas and was also the great-grandfather of the first Luis de Velasco (1511-1564), the father of our protagonist. On the other hand, his mother Ana de Castillo y Mendoza traced her lineage to Peter I of Castile, and to the House of Mendoza, dukes of *Infantado*, the other great family of *Grandeza de España*.

In 1550 his father became the second Viceroy of New Spain, replacing Antonio de Mendoza, of the lineage of his wife and politician enjoying the greatest confidence of the emperor Charles V, whom he accompanied in his entourage of coronation in the city of Bologna.¹⁰⁶ While his father occupied the position of Viceroy of Peru – he died in Lima in 1552 – the second Luis de Velasco remained in New Spain, where he

¹⁰⁵ Begoña ALONSO, María CRUZ DE CARLOS VARONA, Felipe PEREDA ESPESO, *Patronos y coleccionistas: los Condestables de Castilla y el Arte (siglos XV – XVII)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2005).

¹⁰⁶ Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, “Antonio de Mendoza, constructor del Imperio Carolino en América” in Sandro DE MARIA, Manuel PARADA LÓPEZ DE CORSELAS (eds.), *El Imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V* (Bolonía: Bolonia University Press, 2014), pp. 505 – 517.

attended the funeral celebrations of Charles V in the Church of St. Francis the Great, and the proclamation of Philippe II on the streets of the capital. In addition, his father had been the first one to reside in the Palace of the Viceroys, which Luis known in a very detailed way, spending three long periods of his life living in it. He married the first Creole Vicequeen, María de Ircio y Mendoza, the daughter of the conqueror Martín de Ircio, who accompanied Hernán Cortés in the conquest of the Aztec capital, and of Mariana de Mendoza, half sister of the First Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, whom she accompanied as part of his entourage on the American journey. The couple had two children, Ana and Francisco, although it was their grandson Luis de Velasco and Ibarra who succeeded our protagonist as Marquis de Salinas. The arrival of the seventh Viceroy of New Spain, Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, and the enmity between the houses of Velasco and Villamanrique, would cause Luis to abandon the position of *regidor* – councillor in Mexico City and return to Spain, where he participated as ambassador in a diplomatic mission ordered by Philippe II to Florence. The problems of Manrique de Zúñiga multiplied since 1588: English attacks led by Francis Drake, internal riots and a frontal confrontation with the Inquisition and with various monastic orders. The king then decided to appoint Luis de Velasco y Castilla as eighth Viceroy of New Spain, where the latter moved again immediately.

Upon his repeated yet new arrival in America, Velasco disembarked in Pánuco, as the supporters of Villamanrique dominated the city of Veracruz, the gate to oceanic trade. With the royal authority restored in the port, he embarked again and travelled to Veracruz, where he made his first ceremonial entrance into New Spain. On 24th of December, 1590, his arrival in Mexico City was announced and commissions were appointed to debate over the ceremonies: they considered the reception in the town and Basilica of Guadalupe, the construction of the triumphal arch and the preparation of a golden key to be handed in honorary manner to the viceroy. It was agreed to celebrate a masquerade, on 28th of December, the day after the triumphal entrance, and to place luminaries in windows and roofs, starting at the time of the departure from the city of Villamanrique and continued until the entrance of Velasco. These commissions attached enormous importance to nocturnal illumination, which from this moment on became a regular component of the viceregal triumphal entrances, one of the most surprising and cheerful urban decorations of the Baroque festivals. The following day, the commission discussed the purchase of new robes of quality: crimson velvet, satin, taffeta and silk were approved for the councillors, as well as velvet blankets with pink dressings for their horses. Already in January, it was approved that the event was to take place in Guadalupe and not in the Plaza Mayor, with eighty riders who would start a torchlight parade. The commission also approved a magnificent and original ephemeral urban decoration: a small grove was recreated in the Plaza Mayor, with trees, deer and rabbits, all decorated by different *jefes de indios* – Indian leaders –, for the celebration of *juegos de cañas*, walks and all kinds of events.¹⁰⁷

After the arrival of Luis de Velasco to Veracruz, Villamanrique left the capital heading towards the east coast, being dismissed in the hermitage of St. Anne, located in the outskirts of the city and in the surroundings of Tlatelolco and the Garita de Peralvillo, another event that will become traditional in the etiquette of viceregal entries

¹⁰⁷ Ignacio BEJARANO, *Actas del Cabildo de la ciudad de México edición del "Municipio Libre"*, vol. 9 (México, 1889), pp. 362-365.

in New Spain. After leaving the capital, he went to Texcoco and Acolman, where he conversed for more than two hours with Luis de Velasco, and later to Veracruz. On the other hand, Velasco went to Orizaba after Veracruz, then to the meeting in Acolman and later to Guadalupe, where the details for his entrance were solved.

More detailed information have been preserved about the entrance of Luis de Velasco in Mexico – on 15th of January, 1591 – than in case of the rest of his predecessors. The Viceroy arrived in the city from the Guadalupe Plains, and went first to the metropolitan Cathedral, where the ecclesiastical authorities received him, and later to the palace. Thanks to the commission debates, we have plenty of information about the composition of the parade that toured the decorated and illuminated streets of the city. At its head a picket of soldiers was located to make room for the parade, after which arrived the military symphonies, noblemen, distinguished citizens and the members of the Mexican council, secretaries, rapporteurs, and the Royal Audience. After them paraded the viceroy, on a horse richly harnessed: its right reins were led by the *corregidor* Pablo de Torres and the ordinary mayor Leonel de Cervantes, and the left ones by the *regidor* Diego de Velasco and mayor Rafael de Trejo. Finally the infantry and cavalry paraded.¹⁰⁸ It is of great interest to see how the microcosm of the power of New Spain appeared in a clear and orderly way, parading in front of the population, in a scheme that, with slight variations, would be maintained until the 18th century.

Luis de Velasco's entrance into New Spain was another step in the creation of a definitive etiquette, already established in the 17th century, with which the viceroys of New Spain and Peru will enter their courts in a triumphant way, under great arches that likened them to the gods of Olympus or the emperors of Antiquity, as patrons of great works of art, receiving both honours and condolences in Europe, reserved only for monarchs, and presiding on a seat under canopy in the symbolic rooms of the relationship between the King of Spain and his American subjects.

In mid 17th century, the etiquette of the viceregal triumphs in New Spain was completely established: a rigid and ceremonial journey that took the viceroys from Seville, where they had the precedence of occupying royal rooms in the Royal Alcázar, the port of Veracruz, where the fleet was moored on the fortified islet of St. John of Ulúa, and from there to Mexico City.¹⁰⁹ From Veracruz the viceregal entourage began a long ceremonial journey through the lands of the viceroyalty, a journey that finally became one of the most cohesive and effective baroque resources deployed in the Americas (Fig. 4). In this way, the great trip of the viceroys meant not only a great expense in clothes, festivities, banquets, dances, masquerades, bullfights, or fireworks, but also in a series of artistic elements that provided the stage for this theatrical event. This festive art included triumphal arches, large platforms, galleries with statues and the masking of facades with canvases, mirrors and candles, with the arrangement of large luminaries on the cornices of the main buildings.

After the visit to Veracruz, and also after long and intense days of parades, visits to monasteries and banquets, the new viceroy began a journey that was going to take him, on horseback, to Antigua Veracruz, La Rinconada, Plan del Río, Hacienda del

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. pp. 369-372.

¹⁰⁹ Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, *El Triunfo del Virrey. Glorias novohispanas: origen, apogeo y ocaso de la entrada virreinal novohispana* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012).

Lencero, Xalapa, San Miguel and Las Vigas, and from there in a carriage, thanks to the improvement of the roads, towards Perote, Tepeyahualco, Hacienda de los Virreyes, Coapiastla, Huamantla, Tlaxcala and the really important city of Puebla.¹¹⁰ After many days in that episcopal city, they used to go to Otumba, to receive from their predecessors the baton, *bastón de mando*, and finally to the seat of the government in Mexico City.¹¹¹ If we study in detail the route, which remained unchanged from the 16th century until the fast alterations that took place in the last decades of the 18th century, and was brilliantly described in a diary by the Catalan engineer Diego García Panes,¹¹² we can conclude that this baroque ceremony was a magnificent symbolic construct: with each viceregal journey, every new viceroy *novohispano* toured following again the route of the Aztec conquest by Hernán Cortés, remembering to the subjects his mandatory fidelity to the King of Spain. The Viceroy was receiving homage and proofs of loyalty devoted to the king, in a ceremony of enormous cohesive effect.

During their government, the *novohispano* viceroys also enjoyed the atmosphere of a great baroque festive court: walks and evening *soirees* in the *Alameda* (Fig. 5), a large urban park inaugurated by Luis de Velasco y Castilla, great water parades in the *Canal de la Viga*, bullfighting afternoons in *Plaza del Volador*, or festivities and dances in the Chapultepec Forest country residence. Very few works of art that could help us imagine this courtly atmosphere have been preserved, one may mention here the *Reception of a Viceroy in the Royal Houses of Chapultepec* (Early 17th century, National Museum of History of Mexico), the *Parade of the Viceroy Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva and his wife by the Canal de la Viga* (Fernando Villegas, 1706, Museum Soumaya of Mexico) or the *Parade of a viceroy in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico* (XVIIIth century, National Museum of History of Mexico) (Fig. 6). Still fewer are those associated with specific viceregal entries: two ideographic hieroglyphs of the festival book for the entrance of the viceroy count of Moctezuma at the end of the 17th century and the painting attributed to José Joaquín Magón, from the mid-18th century, where we can see in detail the arch erected by the Puebla cathedral for the arrival of the viceroy Marquis de las Amarillas.

LUIS DE VELASCO AND THE PERUVIAN TRIUMPHS

After five years of government in the New Spain, Luis de Velasco left the office on 5th of November, 1595. However, five months earlier, on 6th of June, he had been elected the Viceroy of Peru, following political strategy already begun in the mid 16th century: to elevate to a second viceregal office in Peru to the most capable *novohispano* rulers.

The geographical location of the centre of power of the Viceroyalty of Peru, Lima (Fig. 7), made the viceregal journeys reach the capital almost directly, erasing any trace of pilgrimages of the new rulers through the Peruvian lands.¹¹³ Even when they

¹¹⁰ Frances L. RAMOS, *Identity, ritual and power in Colonial Puebla* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

¹¹¹ Linda CURCIO-NAGY, *The great festivals of colonial Mexico City: performing power and identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

¹¹² Diego GARCÍA PANES, *Diario particular del camino que sigue un virrey de México. Desde su llegada a Veracruz hasta su entrada pública en la capital (1753)* (Edición facsimilar, Madrid: CEHOPU, 1994).

¹¹³ Alejandra OSORIO, *Inventing Lima. Baroque modernity in Peru south sea metropolis* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2008); Ricardo ESTABRIDIS CÁRDENAS, "Arcos triunfales, monumentos y túmulos funerarios"

arrived from mainland land, via Paita and stopping in Trujillo, the ceremonies lacked the symbolic character of renewal of the Spanish domination that we found in the New Spain. The journey of the Peruvian viceroys also began in Seville, and after their departure and crossing the Atlantic they arrived at Cartagena de Indias, to pass to Portobelo later, from there overland to Panama and finally to the ports of Paita or El Callao. If the viceroy had been promoted from New Spain to Peru as his new destination, he usually embarked a ship in Acapulco and made the entire trip by sea to El Callao. In this way, the Peruvian triumphal entrances normally began with the arrival of the new viceroy and his entourage to the port of El Callao, a few kilometres from the capital. A welcome ceremony and greeting by the authorities took place on the beach, traditionally known as *besamanos*.¹¹⁴ The festivals in El Callao normally consisted of a simple procession to the port parish, masses and the intonation of *Te Deum Laudamus*, giving thanks to God for the happy arrival of the new governor. Finally, he was led to the house arranged for that purpose in the port, where he would be greeted by various authorities and entertained with soirees, music and fireworks, the specific aspects of the new governor's entrance in the capital were planned. The triumphal entrance into Lima included, as was usual in the Early Modern Age, a great parade of authorities, along the decorated streets of the city, the parade stopped at the key points of the civil and ecclesiastical power.¹¹⁵

In the case of Luis de Velasco, since he was a viceroy promoted from New Spain, he embarked in the port of Acapulco and headed towards the south of America. Acapulco was then a city defended by the Fort of St. Diego and the port of departure of the annual Galleon, which sailed to Manila and Asia, becoming an interesting commercial route that marked the first cultural tripartite contacts between the European, American and Asian cultures, resulting in a really interesting fusion of artistic influences, exemplified in artefacts of relevance: *biombos* – folding screens- or *enconchados*. However, Velasco did not arrive directly to El Callao: he disembarked in Paita, and travelled overland land through the northern territories of Peru, recognizing some of the new cities and promoting the founding of some religious establishments. He made his triumphal entrance into Lima on 23rd of June, 1596. In 1598, just two years after his arrival, he received the news of the death of Philippe II: he was since then in charge of the transition in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the dynastic change to the successor, Philippe III.

ROYAL DEATHS AND OATHS IN THE AMERICAS

The obsequies were, without any doubt, one of the most splendour ceremonies of the Early Modern Age: the public funerals of a monarch, performed in a mandatory way in all the cities of the monarchy, in its main temples and with a series of rituals having the catafalque at its centre, with the participation of ephemeral architecture that covered the

in idem, *El grabado en Lima virreinal. Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2002), pp. 199-278.

¹¹⁴ Rafael RAMOS SOSA, *Arte festivo en Lima Virreinal* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 1992).

¹¹⁵ Alejandra OSORIO, "La entrada del virrey y el ejercicio del poder en la Lima del siglo XVII", *Historia Mexicana* 55 (no 3) (2006), pp. 767-831.

cenotaph, the empty tomb of the monarch.¹¹⁶ The churches took a true Baroque attitude to these ceremonies using the imitation of jasper, marble, black mournful tapestries, bronzes, gold, silver and crowned skulls, emphasizing their mortuary character. The cycle of Hispanic funerals in America began in the atrium of the Monastery of St. Francis in Mexico City with the funeral of Charles V, whose famous engraving was published in the chronicle of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Túmulo Imperial* (Mexico, 1560).¹¹⁷ The catafalque by Claudio de Arciniega, follow the tradition of the primitive *capelardentes*, incorporating classical architectural elements, with Doric order and cruciform plan, and modern iconography in which the Alciato emblems were present in abundance, combined with imperial attributes.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the most interesting catafalques of the whole series were those constructed in Mexico City and Lima for the death of Philippe IV.

Luis de Velasco was in charge of the construction of the catafalque of Philippe II in the Cathedral of Lima, but information about this ephemeral building has not been preserved. However, and in spite of the fact that no engraving is preserved, we do have descriptions of the pyre structure erected in the Church of St. Dominic in Mexico City to commemorate the death of the King Philippe II.¹¹⁹ It was a baldachin raised by Alonso Arias, similar in its forms to that one designed by Claudio de Arciniega: a tumulus in the form of a tower, with two levels structured in the form of Doric columns. It is remarkable that two elements which appeared in that catafalque were later the key features of the Peruvian catafalque typology: the dome at the top, which turned the tumulus into a temple in itself, and the existence of two concentric square spaces in the lower level, which reinforced the place occupied by the cenotaph, the most sacred space. In addition, that catafalque showed a greater decorative impulse, evidenced by such expressions as “coatings of Roman leaves” or “very curious mouldings” used,¹²⁰ all of those solutions linked to the architecture of the late 16th century. The whole structure was topped with an enormous allegorical image of Time, showing the density of meanings of that architecture, always devoted to religion and the concept of *vanitas*, but also reinforcing the triumph of the monarch over the Time and over the Death, as defender of religion on the Earth.

The funeral ceremony of Philippe II was accompanied, a few weeks later, by the festive proclamation of his successor, Philippe III. The viceroys, in this particular case Luis de Velasco, had to work hard to manifest in all the cities of America the effective transfer of power between two monarchs, and successful replacement on the throne, showing the glory and continuity of the House of Habsburg. The oath was the moment

¹¹⁶ María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, Juan Francisco ESTEBAN LORENTE, “El estudio de las exequias reales de la Monarquía hispana: siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII”, *Artigrama* 19 (2004), pp. 39-94; Victoria SOTO CABA, *Catafalcos reales del Barroco español* (Madrid: UNED, 1991); Antonio BONET CORREA, “Túmulos del Emperador Carlos V”, *Archivo Español de Arte* 33 (1960), pp. 55-66.

¹¹⁷ Francisco CERVANTES DE SALAZAR, *Túmulo Imperial* (Ciudad de México, 1560).

¹¹⁸ María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, “Exequias del emperador Carlos V en la Monarquía hispana” in María José REDONDO CANTERA, Miguel Ángel ZALAMA (eds.), *Carlos V y las artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León y Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), pp. 261-281.

¹¹⁹ Dionisio de RIBERA FLORES, *Relación historizada de las Exequias Funerales de la Magestad del Rey D. Philippo II nuestro Señor. Hechas por el Sancto Oficio de la Inquisición* (Ciudad de México: casa de Pedro Balli, México, 1600).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

in which the subjects swore allegiance to the king, and joy was manifested in the richness of the costumes of the participants, in the decorations of *tablados*, galleries, triumphal arches, and obelisks.¹²¹ The first royal exaltation documented in Mexico City has been precisely that of Philippe III, which took place in 1599 in the Plaza Mayor, with the construction of three *tablados* in front of the three most important buildings: the Casas Reales, the Catedral, and the Casas de Cabildo, decorated with rugs, crimson velvets, pennants, golden-woven chairs, crimson gilded canopies, brocades, sculptures, allegorical paintings and, of course, the oath portrait of the king.¹²² The authorities showed the subjects the image of the monarch in those portraits, the pictorial typology used to replace the king himself in these ceremonies, to mark his presence in each of the cities, with functions similar to those that the presence of the viceroy fulfilled in the triumphal entrances.

In brief, the important political journey of Luis de Velasco y Castilla exemplifies the ceremonial role that the viceroys had to assume in America: the symbolic representation of the king's presence - during the triumphal entrances in Mexico City or Lima- and the proper functioning of the mandatory celebration of every change on the throne, through the funerals and proclamations. On 8th of December, 1604, Viceroy Velasco, almost seventy years old at that time, was replaced in Lima by Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, and returned to New Spain. Nevertheless, when still in the city, he was appointed again the Viceroy of New Spain, between July 1607 and June 1611, the period in which he began one of the most excellent and significant works of all the viceregal era, the drainage of the Valley of Mexico, a project of the German engineer and cosmographer Enrico Martínez. During his government, the new king Philippe III elevated his title of lord to Marquis of Salinas, and in 1611 he returned to Spain, and was appointed president of the *Consejo de Indias*, the Council for the Americas, until 1616. Without any doubt, in his time nobody knew the political operation of America better: he first went to New Spain in his childhood and subsequently travelled and ruled territories and cities throughout the continent. He died in Seville on 7th of September, 1617.

¹²¹ Víctor MÍNGUEZ, “Reyes absolutos y ciudades leales. Las proclamaciones de Fernando VI en Nueva España”, *Tiempos de América* 2 (2013), pp. 19-33.

¹²² Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, “Barroco festivo: arte y ritual en la Nueva España” in Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *El arte de las naciones. El Barroco como arte global* (México: Museo Internacional del Barroco – Gobierno de Puebla 2017), pp. 345 -355.

CHAPTER V

“POUR LA FESTE DE L'ORDRE DE LA TOISON D'OR DE MONDIT SEIGNEUR NAGAIRES TENUE EN SA VILLE DE BRUGES”.¹²³ THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE IN 1468 AND ARTISTIC PATRONAGE OF CHARLES THE BOLD

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The Order of the Golden Fleece was established in 1430, during the celebration of wedding of the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe the Good, with Isabel princess of Portugal. This institution was aimed to reinforce the feudal relation between the duke and the noble families of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Luxembourg, and other dependent territories of Philippe the Good. Over the years, the organization grew up including new members, principally allies of the Duchy of Burgundy selected from the European political elite and monarchs, as in the case of the King of Aragon.¹²⁴ Belonging to the order was a privilege strictly reserved to the noble class, as a matter of fact not even the most respected bourgeois serving at the highest level of the Burgundian court could be part of the order. Beside the Grand Master, the order's structure comprised four highlighted titles reserved to the most important allies of the duke: the *chancelier*, the *tresorier*, the *greffier* and the *roy d'arms*, each one of them with special titles, privileges and salaries. The Order of the Golden Fleece was meant to maintain the medieval chivalry system that during the 15th century was going through a deep crisis. This institution was based on moral examples from the ancient mythology and Christian virtues, put together in order to reinforce feudal relations and the prestige of the sovereign.¹²⁵ The most relevant moral examples were the histories of Jason and Gideon,¹²⁶ symbolized by the golden collar. From the very foundation, the ideology of the organization was reinforced by poems, oaths, ceremonials and heraldic expressions, as confirmed by manuscripts. In particular, the iconographical programs established during the first decades of the order were undisputed and survived without amendments or changes throughout the reign of Philippe the Good.¹²⁷

¹²³ „For the feast of the Golden Fleece of Mondit Seigneur held in his city of Bruges” is the form that has permitted to identify orders in the ducal accounts linked with the Asamblea of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468.

¹²⁴ Wim BLOCKMANS, “Borgoña y su vinculación estratégica con el Mediterráneo” in Eduard MIRA, An DELVA (eds.), *A la búsqueda del Toisón de Oro: la Europa de los principes, la Europa de las Ciudades* (València: Generalitat Valenciana, Fundació Jaime II el Just, 2007), pp. 247-249.

¹²⁵ Johan HUIZINGA, *El otoño de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Alianza, 1996), p. 140; Vicomte TERLINDEN, “Les origines religieuses et politiques de la Toison d’Or”, *Publications du Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes (PCEEB)* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), p. 40. Victor TOURNEUR, “Les origines de l’Ordre de la Toison d’Or et la symbolique des insignes de celui-ci”, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres* 42 (1956), p. 317.

¹²⁶ Tania VAN HEMELRYCK, “Les figures exemplaires au secours du héros bourguignon: exemples de chroniqueurs”, *PCEEB* 41 (2001), pp. 40-41.

¹²⁷ Víctor MINGUEZ, “Un collar ígneo para un velloncino áureo. Iconografía de la Orden del Toisón” in Fernando CHECA CREMADES (ed.), *La Orden del Toisón de Oro y sus soberanos (1430-2011)* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2011), pp. 45-74.

Charles the Count of Charolais, the first-born recognised son of the duke, was born on 10th of November, 1433 in Dijon and participated for the first time in an assembly of the order at the age of twelve, in Ghent in 1455. He was one of the few knights who participated in every meeting of the organization.¹²⁸ The visual affirmation of the Burgundian propaganda concerning the perfect father and son relationship that the duke of Burgundy wanted to construct was illuminated in miniatures, like the one of Rogier van der Weyden in the Chronicles of Hainault (Fig. 5.1).¹²⁹ The scene shows the duke receiving the manuscript from its author, Jean Waquelin in 1448: although the most relevant courtiers are portrayed surrounding the duke, the closest person in central position is the young Count Charles. According to the courts ritual, the members of the organization always had to wear golden collars, and as a matter of fact many personages in the scene have them visible round their necks, including the duke and his son.

Even though it is possible that Count of Charolais was put in charge of ducal duties during the last years of his father's reign, it is only in June 1467, after Philip the Good's death, when he, referred to as Charles the Bold further on, inherited the title of the Duke of Burgundy and took control over the Order of the Golden Fleece as its new Grand Master. One of his first decisions as Duke of Burgundy was to convene a plenary assembly of Golden Fleece with the aim to confirm his heritage. Another example of relevant orders given by the young duke was a strong financial reform, introduced at the beginning of 1468 and formally approved on 8th of February of that year.

This paper aims to analyse the iconographical program adapted during the Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468 and to give an account of the inheritance ritual of the duchy and the Grand Mastery of the order. The main sources for this analysis are the court expenses, preserved at the Archive of Lille, an abundant set of documents that allows to keep track of all financial movements of the court. In particular, the Assembly of 1468 is well documented, thanks to an exhaustive collection of ducal bills. In fact, even if most of the art pieces ordered for this occasion are not preserved anymore, excluding a deep iconographical study, the expenses records detailed descriptions mentioning ornaments, decorations and iconographical programs applied to the art pieces paid for the feast. This paper analyses the expenses of the duke related to the ceremony, in order to understand the visual expression of power required and to recognise the artists who worked for the occasion.

COMPTES DE L'ARGENTIER AND THE ASSEMBLE OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE IN 1468

The financial reform of the Duchy of Burgundy that has been already mentioned had the aim of reorganizing the competences of those responsible for the ducal expenses splitting the ducal treasure into two offices: the *recevoir general* and the *argentier*. The former one would be meant to prepare income accounts, while the latter one would be in

¹²⁸ Françoise de GRUBEN, "Fêtes et cérémonies de la Toison d'Or: Le chapitre de 1468 à Bruges", *PCEEB* 34 (1994), p. 155.

¹²⁹ More about the miniature: Anne DUBOIS, "La scène de Présentation des Chroniques de Hainaut. Idéologie et politique à la Cour de Bourgogne" in Pierre COCKSHAW, Christiane VAN DEN BERGEN-PANTENS (eds.), *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les ambitions d'un prince bourguignon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 119-124; Lieve WATTEUW, "A closer look at Rogier van der Weyden's Presentation miniature (1447-1448)" in Lorne CAMPBELL, Jan VAN DER STOCK (eds.), *Rogier van Der Weyden: 1400-1464. Master of Passions* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2009), pp. 370-418.

charge of the outcomes and the annual balance of the treasure.¹³⁰ The results of this change permit to analyse the ducal accounts and budgets for celebrations and art pieces ordered at that time. This series of sources is deposited in the Archives départementales du Nord in Lille¹³¹ and has been studied and analysed by Werner Paravicini, who published accounts with his remarks¹³².

Guilbert de Ruple, the first *argentier*, started to sign bills on 1st of January, 1468, before he was appointed head of the office. The series of bills that he had prepared between 1468 and 1470 have been entirely preserved and can be analysed as a primary source of expenses paid for the artistic patronage during the very first years of the reign of Charles the Bold.¹³³ The analysis of the court expenses allows to trace the ducal orders for cloths, jewellery, paintings, manuscripts and others goods. Every single bill mentions the name of the person responsible for each order and, at the same time, allows to identify the person that had been charged with the task of delivering luxury goods to the court. Even if ducal accounts were prepared cyclically, there was a standard delay in the execution of the general budget. As a matter of fact, in many cases the bills produced during the second half of the year referred to events that occurred at the beginning of the year, demonstrating the court's delays in the payment to artisans.

The sources contain many expenses mentioning court festivals, permitting to analyse the ducal patronage and expenses of specific celebrations. In the case of the year 1468 two ceremonies dominated the ducal expenses: the Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece in May and the ducal wedding with Margaret of York in July.¹³⁴ The bills and accounts mention exactly to which ceremony they were related:

Pour la feste de l'ordre de la Thoison d'or de mondit seigneur nagaires tenue en sa ville de Bruges, le 8e jour dudit mois de may l'an [14]68, a esté payé par ledit argentier la somme de 298 £ 18 s. dudit pris de 40 gros monnoye de Flandres la livre, pour les parties qui s'ensuivent, assavoir : a Pierre Coustain, peintre et varlet de chambre de mondit seigneur, pour son salaire d'avoir fait et paint en ung grant tableau de bois les armes de feu mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne¹³⁵.

¹³⁰ Anke GREVE, Émilie LEBAILLY, Werner PARAVICINI (eds.), *Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers. Comptes de l'Argentier de Charles Le Téméraire, Duc de Bourgogne* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2001), p. 15. For the similarity between *argentier* of Burgundian Duchy and Kingdom of France see Robert-Henri BAUTIER, *Lexikon Des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 chapter *Argenterie du roi*. (München – Zürich, 1980).

¹³¹ Archives départementales du Nord (ADN), reg. B 2068, with the copy on the microfilm in: Archives de l'État à Bruxelles (AGR) and Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (KBR).

¹³² GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit.

¹³³ For the year 1468: ADN, reg. B 2068; for the year 1469: AGR, reg. CC 1924; for the year 1470: AGR, reg. CC 1925.

¹³⁴ Joseph CALMETTE, "Le mariage de Charles le Téméraire et Marguerite d'York", *Annales de Bourgogne* 1 (1929), pp. 193–214; Pierre François Xavier DE RAM, "Détails concernant le mariage de Charles le Téméraire avec Marguerite d'York en 1468", *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 10 (1842), pp. 168–174; Joseph KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, "Relations du Mariage de duc Charles de Bourgogne et de Marguerite d'York", *Bulletin de La Commission Royale d'Histoire* 3, no. X (1867), pp. 245–266; Albert ZUYLEN VAN NYEVELT, "Joyeuse entrée de Charles le Téméraire à Bruges 1468", *Annales de La Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 57 (1907), pp. 380–392; Otto CARTELLIERI, *La cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Payot, 1946), p. 177. Maximiliaan Pieter Jan MARTENS, *Artistic Patronage in Bruges institutions, ca. 1440–1482* (Ann Arbor: U.M.I, 1992), pp. 79–83.

¹³⁵ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 106v. Also: GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 717. The bill specifies that Pierre Coustain received 60£.

The expenses are arranged, chronologically, month by month, from January to December,¹³⁶ and by expenditure categories: travels and messages, diplomatic missions, and long travels, donations and compensations, court expenses, offerings and alms, salaries and special expenses, followed, finally by summary, of the month.¹³⁷ At the end of each year, a further summary, and two other chapters have been provided: salaries and other expenses, without any reference to a specific date of payment.¹³⁸

The expenses specifically related to the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece amount to 34 items, and they comprise, the whole year 1468 (Tab. 5.1).

The expenses from March and April are mainly payments to heralds that announced the assembly to all the knights, even if only the most relevant of them are personally mentioned, such as: Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, Jehan de Croy, and the Duke of Cleve.¹³⁹

The costs of diplomacy are also mentioned during following months, with the destinations stipulated. For example, one bill from June mentions the travel after the assembly of the *roy d'armes*, who went to the Duke of Savoy, to Normandy and to Brittany because of diplomatic affairs.¹⁴⁰

One of the bills classified in „travels” concerned the order for Jacque de Breguilles (*garde de joyaux* in Lille) and Fastr Hollet (treasurer of Lille) to go to Bruges before the end of March as people responsible for the preparation of the ceremonies in the Church of Our Lady (Nowadays St. Salvador Church) and in the Ducal Palace of Bruges - the Pricenhof.¹⁴¹ Another payment from March confirms the necessity of to order a new seal, prepared by the Brussels engraver Jehan van Lombeque.¹⁴² In April, the sum of 20£ was paid to 29 carpenters of Brussels for the new furniture of the Ducal Palace in Bruges.¹⁴³

In *Aumones* are mentioned the alms given by the duke for the city and the masses ordered in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges: 15 masses to the Holy Spirit, 9 to Our Lady and 6 to St. Catherin were paid with a total amount of 15£.¹⁴⁴

The first payment related to the exclusive goods was for the order of 100 meters of colourful taffeta: blue, crimson and black one, for preparing decorative banners to be shown in streets of the city during the festival. Jehan Feron, the merchant serving at the ducal court who delivered the material received a payment of 106£ and 14 s.¹⁴⁵ Michiel

¹³⁶ Even if the year started on the first day of Easter.

¹³⁷ In French: *voyages et messageries, ambassades et gros voyages, dons et récompenses, ecurie, menues parties, offrandes et aumônes, gaiges extraordinaires, parties extraordinaires, somme du mois.*

¹³⁸ *Deniers payés aux officiers qui doivent compter, autre dépense de gaiges et pensions.*

¹³⁹ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 47 v, 48 r. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., paras. 383-386.

¹⁴⁰ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 116 v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 762.

¹⁴¹ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 50 v, 51 r. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 406.

¹⁴² ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 67 v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 509. Details about Jehan van Lombeque see Alexandre PINCHART, “Biographie des graveurs belges: Jean Van Lombeke, Pierre de Beckere”, *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* 3, no. 2 (1858), p. 180.

¹⁴³ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 80v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 578. Details about reform of the Pricenhof in Bruges for the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468: Gruben, *Les chapitres de la Toison d’Or...*, pp. 315–318.

¹⁴⁴ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 102 v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 712.

¹⁴⁵ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 102 r. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 707.

Le Seur,¹⁴⁶ a courtier and tailor and *valet de chambre* prepared the new tunics for the members of the order and a black doublet for the duke, used during the banquet.

Another example of payments for cloths is the one to the tailor from Bruges, Jehannin de Langle,¹⁴⁷ who prepared a long robe and a scarlet chaperone – a ceremonial hat - for Charles the Bold.¹⁴⁸ The chaperone was part of the official dress of the Order of the Golden Fleece as defined during the establishment of the order and confirmed by ducal inventories.¹⁴⁹ However, the chaperone was applied to the visual representation of the knights from the second half of the fifteenth century, as confirmed by the full portrait of Philippe the Good as the Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 5.2) or the illuminations of the ordinances of the order from the seventies of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁰

Another documented payment went to Jehannin de Langle, a weaver whose works were appreciated by the duke, as confirmed by other orders for textiles, draperies, and damasks for the interior decoration of the ducal palace, particularly for the chamber of Hainault. For all those textiles the weaver received 53£ 7 s. in July. The payment refers to ornamented tapestries, *millesfleurs*, and throne decorations for the feast of the Golden Fleece that was also used during the ducal wedding.

The bill mentions that the weaver received money for designing, mounting, and dismounting the decoration twice.¹⁵¹

Audit Jehannin de Langle, la somme de 53£ 7 s. dudit pris, qui deue luy estoit pour les parties de ruban de soye, taffetas et autres par lui délivrées pour mondit seigneur, assavoir pour six onces de ruban de soye verde dont ont esté losengiés quatre courdines de taffetas vert pour servir a deux chambres de tapisserie de fine verdure de mondit seigneur, qui a 9 s. l'once font 54 s.

Item, pour trois onces de ruban de soye vermeille dont ont esté losengiés deux autres courtines de taffetas vermeil pour servir a ladicte chambre de Haynnau, qui audit pris de 9 s. l'once font 27 s.

Item, pour six cordes verdes et vermeilles servans ausdictes courtines, qui a 5 s. piece font 30 s.

Item, pour la façon desdictes courdines, qui sont grandes et larges comme il appartient, compris soye, fil et autres estoffes a ce nécessaires, 6£.

Item, pour sept pieces de boucran vermeil dont a esté doublé et garny ledit ciel et dossier, qui a 42 s. piece font 14£ 14 s.

Item, pour huit pieces de ruban large dont icellui ciel a esté garny, a 4 s. piece, 32 s.

Item, pour six pieces de cordes vermeilles servans a tendre le ciel, 30 s. Et pour la façon dudit ciel et dossier fait a la feste de la Thoison derrenierement tenue a Bruges, deffait et apres refait de rechief aux nopces de mondit seigneur, 24£. Font en tout ladicte somme de 53£ 7 s. Pour ce,

¹⁴⁶ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 108v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 723.

¹⁴⁷ Also named by sources Haquinet.

¹⁴⁸ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 107v, 108r. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 718. The tailor received 99£ 4 s.

¹⁴⁹ Leon DE LABORDE, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Plon Frères, 1849), para. 4110.

¹⁵⁰ Gerard NIJSTEN, *In the shadow of Burgundy. The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 385–368.

¹⁵¹ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 179v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 1104.

*par sa quittance avec certification dudit Garnier Pourcelot sur ce servant, cy rendues, icelle somme de 53£ 7 s.*¹⁵²

Garnier Purcelot,¹⁵³ a courtier (*valet de chambre et garde de la tapisserie*) certifies the payment for those textiles, approving the value and confirming the delivery of the materials. The fact that somebody with a relevant position at the court approves the value of textiles demonstrates one of the tasks of Garnier Purcelot, who might have also been the person responsible for choosing the weaver in charge.

The last bill for textiles for the assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece was paid in December, seven month after the ceremony. The money for all the delivered materials was paid to Tommaso Portinari, an Italian merchant in Bruges.¹⁵⁴ The bill, mentioned horse blankets and other coats for the duke, used during the ceremony in May and some sets of tapestries with no further description¹⁵⁵.

Following the analysis of the documented accounts, yet another order for the ceremony was related to the oak panels with coats of arms of the knights of the order, prepared by Pierre Coustain¹⁵⁶ and paid by the sum of 298£ 18 s.¹⁵⁷

The documents mention three coats of arms of the Duke of Burgundy, of different size, and nine coats of arms of other members of the order. These heraldic panels were used for decorating the honour stalls in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges during the solemn mass and assembly, indicating the place assigned to each knight (Fig. 5.3). Panels by Pierre Coustain are characterised by details being close to reality, like the textiles around the shield (*lambrequin*) and the necklace of the order (Fig. 5.4).

Hans Belting documented that the coat of arms represented the knight and, at the same time, it was the equivalent of his real presence during the ceremony. The coats of arms should be interpreted as the real "body" of his owner and, as a matter of fact, if a knight was absent his coat of arms would be covered with a black scarf symbolising the exclusion from the assembly.¹⁵⁸

Three expenses related to the organization of the ceremony have not been included in the monthly balance: Fastre Hollet, who was in charge of the ceremony

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Also named Garnot in documents was serving at the Burgundian court between 1435 (AGR, Aud. 4, no. 100) and 1473 (ADN, reg. B 3437, no. 118960).

¹⁵⁴ More about Tomaso Portinari and his patronage activities in Bruges: Raymond DE ROOVER, *Money, banking and credit in mediaeval Bruges* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948); Federica VERATELLI, "Une Renaissance matérielle? Hommes d'affaires Italiens dans les Anciens Pays-Bas Bourguignons (1477-1530)" *PCEEB* 55 (2015); Diane WOLFFTHAL, "Florentine bankers, flemish friars, and the patronage of the Portinari Altarpiece" in Ingrid ALEXANDER-SKIPNES (ed.), *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Federica VERATELLI, "I trattati el potere. I clienti Italiani di Hans Memling" in Till BORCHERT (ed.) *Memling, Rinascimento Fiammingo* (Rome: Skira, 2014), pp. 55-57.

¹⁵⁵ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 379 r. ed. 2286.

¹⁵⁶ Pierre Coustain has been mentioned as a member of the Brotherhood of St. Luke in Bruges in 1450. Between 1455 (ADN, B3420, no. 116882) and 1476 (ADN, B3440, no. 119270) he served at the court of Philippe the Good and Charles the Bold as *valet de chambre*, painting on many occasions the coats of arms and ephemeral decorations. Michael BRYAN, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical* (London: George Bell and sons, 1886), p. 321.

¹⁵⁷ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 106v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 717.

¹⁵⁸ Hans BELTING, *An Anthropology of Images. Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

preparation, received a reimbursement of 1000£;¹⁵⁹ the *greffier* of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Martin Steenberch, received 180£¹⁶⁰ for sending letters of invitation to knights and for managing the transportation of six chests full of jewellery and goldsmithery, from the treasure, in Lille, to the Church of Our Lady, in Bruges.

THE CELEBRATION IN BRUGES

The Assembly in Bruges was held from 8th to 28th of May. The most important meeting took place on 9th of May, while the official celebration started the next day. On 8th of May the procession of all the order's members moved from the ducal palace to the Church of Our Lady for the celebration of a solemn mass. All diplomatic representatives of absent knights had the honour to participate in the procession, like in the case of the King of Aragon, even if the delegate had not the privilege of wearing the order's clothes or sitting next to the Grand Master, he maintained the power to vote in his master's name. That day, a commemorative mass was celebrated in honour and memory of all dead knights of the order, including the first Grand Master, Philippe the Good who was missing from the assembly for the first time in the history of the order. All members of the order wore black robes as a sign of mourning, while during the following day they wore crimson robes, crimson being the traditional colour of the order.¹⁶¹ The schedule of the Assembly maintained the same structure as during previous celebrations, showing the new Grand Master's will of maintaining continuity and respect for traditions.¹⁶² Nevertheless, Guillaume Filastre, the Bishop of Tournai and Secretary of the order, who celebrated the solemn mass, shortly after the assembly wrote the new statutes and the History of the Order of the Golden Fleece, probably as requested by the Assembly of 1468, with a completely new scheme. This modification could be related to the specific decision of the Assembly, representing conscious innovations applied to the order's traditions, as renovated by the new Grand Mastery.¹⁶³

The solemn procession moving from the Pincenhof to the church was headed by the court of the knights, arranged by age from the oldest to the youngest, with the Grand Master closing the procession. Once all the knights had taken seating the wooden gallery in the chapel of the church, Filastre took the oath of Charles as the new Grand Master. In order to mark the new rule, servants covered the coat of arms of Philippe the Good, and unveiled the one of the current Duke of Burgundy.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 14v. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 112.

¹⁶⁰ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 20r. GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit., para. 137.

¹⁶¹ More about colors and dress tradition at the Court of Burgundy: Sophie JOLIVET, Hanno WIJSMAN, "Dress and illuminated manuscripts at the Burgundian Court: Complementary Sources and Fashions (1430-1455)" in Till BORCHERT et al. (ed.), *Staging the Court of Burgundy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Michel PASTOUREAU, *Black: The History of a Color* (Princeton University Press, 2009); Anne HAGOPIAN VAN BUREN, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (New York: Giles, 2011).

¹⁶² GRUBEN, "Fêtes et cérémonies de la Toison d'Or...", op. cit. pp., 157-158; Idem, "Les chapitres de la Toison d'Or vus par les chroniqueurs à l'époque bourguignonne", *PCEEB*, 31 (1991), pp. 127-137.

¹⁶³ According to D'Arcy every knight had a proper copy of the manuscripts with statues of the Order. Jonathan Dacre Boulton D'ARCY, *The Knights of the Crown: The monarchical orders of knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (London: Boydell Brewer, 2000), p. 364.

¹⁶⁴ GRUBEN, "Fêtes et cérémonies de la Toison d'Or...", op. cit., p. 161.

Among the decoration of the church goldsmith works are mentioned, coming from the treasure of Lille that had been transported to Bruges in the six chests, as mentioned before. The goldsmithery used on the altar for the mass included a golden cross (today preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum) (Fig. 5.5) and a chandelier with the number of candles corresponding to the number of knights present at the ceremony.¹⁶⁵ After swearing the oath, the duke kindled the first candle of the chandelier and then donated money to the church. After him, all the knights present and their delegations repeated the same ritual. The only exception was the Duke of Neveres who did not participate in the Assembly and did not send any delegate. Once the chandelier ceremony was completed, the coats of arms of absent knights were covered with black sheets as a sign of exclusion. The intention of the mass was to the Holy Spirit and his patronage on the Assembly.

After the mass, the procession moved back to the ducal palace where the feast would be celebrated. Musicians, minstrels, singers, and poets performed in the banquet room: the duke and other members of the order sat at the table of honour, the biggest one, while ambassadors and courtiers were seated at smaller tables.¹⁶⁶ When the meal finished all participants moved to a smaller ballroom decorated with hanging tapestries with the iconography most possibly related to the History of Gideon, although it is known that the ducal collection contained other tapestries made by weavers from Brussels, with another mythological theme related to the order – the History of Hannibal and Scipion. In other rooms, tapestries with *millefleur* decorations were used. The decoration set was prepared for the Assemble but it was displayed also during the wedding party of the duke, two months later.¹⁶⁷

On the morning of 9th of May all knights participated in the second mass in the Church of Our Lady where later the Assembly was opened. The first topics in the agenda were the international affairs of the new Grand Master, Charles the Bold, whose official announcements of intentions should be approved by the whole conclave.¹⁶⁸ Finally, on 11th of May, the Assembly approved the alliance with England and accepted the marriage between the duke and Margaret of York. At the same time, the council of knights gave permission to the duke for accepting the invitation to join the Order of the Garter, the noble organization led by the English king. As a matter of fact, the membership of the Order of the Golden Fleece was exclusive, that means that somebody affiliated to the order could not participate in other chivalry orders, unless the Assembly gave him a specific permission. Moreover, the Order of the Golden Fleece accepted the English king Eduard IV as new member. The Assembly approved the decision to send diplomatic missions led by the *roy d'armes* as has been confirmed by court expenses. On 19th of May, Jehan de Favre, the *roy d'armes* of the order, resigned from his function because of his advanced age. The new appointment took place on 28th

¹⁶⁵ Francis SALET, “La Croix du serment de l’Ordre de la Toison d’Or” *Journal des Davants* 2, no. 1 (1974), pp. 73-94.

¹⁶⁶ GRUBEN, “Fêtes et cérémonies de la Toison d’Or...” op. cit., p. 162; idem, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or...*, op. cit., p. 319.

¹⁶⁷ For tapestry of Gideon during court feasts in 15th century see MARTENS, op. cit.; Guy DELMARCEL, *La tapisserie flamande du XVe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1999); Laura WEIGERT, *Weaving sacred stories: French choir tapestries and the performance of clerical identity* (Cornell University Press, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ GRUBEN, *Les Chapitres de la Toison d’Or...*, op. cit., p. 325.

of May, the last day of the Assembly, when Gilles Gobert took the position promising to realise and review all decisions of the council. On the same day, Gerard Loyet, the *valet de chambre* and ducal goldsmith, was summoned in order to prepare a new golden chain of the order for the English king.¹⁶⁹

The artefact that allows to illustrate the Assembly of the knights of the Golden Fleece is the manuscript of the „History of the Golden Fleece”, written by Guillem Filastre. The first version of this manuscript has not been preserved but its later copies, prepared for the members of the order and private collections, allow to study its content. The fact that the members had their own copies reinforces the prestige of their book collection and confirmed the relations with the order. The theoretical treaty of Filastre was not finished when its author died; the continuation of the manuscript is entitled „Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece”.¹⁷⁰ In the manuscript from the last decade of the 15th century one of the illuminations shows the Assembly of 1468, presided by Charles the Bold (Fig. 5.6). The image composition was introduced in miniature paintings in the seventies of the XVth century. The Great Master was always placed in the central place, surrounded by other members, as probably the ducal etiquette indicated,¹⁷¹ and sitting on the throne indicating the sense of power, domination, and government. The long crimson robe and the chaperon became distinguishing elements of the knights of the order and were used in the official iconography of the Golden Fleece until the eighteenth century.¹⁷² In the case of the illumination from the Filastre’s manuscript, we can observe the author dressed like other knights, with a part from the mitre that shows his ecclesiastic position: he stands in front of the Grand Master, as chancellor, introducing three volumes of his *oeuvre*. The first chapter narrates the adventures of Jason, as example of magnanimity; the second tells the story of Jacob as representation of justice, and the last book with the history of Gideon represents the virtue of being cautious.

CONCLUSION

Not many objects mentioned in the relations and accounts of the ceremony have been preserved to the present day, due to the high material value of goldsmith’s products and tapestries. The summary of expenses, regarding the acquired materials confirms precious items, such as the panels with coats of arms ordered in the workshop of Pierre Coustain. According to the expenses, one coat of arms cost between 4£ 16 s. and 9£ 12 s.¹⁷³ while a long one-month travel from Brussels to Alençon cost about 13£ 12 s. The value of the cloths ordered for the ceremony was four times higher than what was paid

¹⁶⁹ Hugo VAN DER WELDEN, *The Donor’s Image. Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ Prietzel MALTE, “Guillaume Fillastre, Évêque de Tournai. Un Prélat et son diocèse au XVe siècle” *PCEEB* 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 147-158. Alphonse BAYOT, “Observations sur les Manuscrits de l’Histoire de la Toison d’Or de Guillaume Fillastre”, *Revue Des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique* 5 (1907), pp. 5-6.

¹⁷¹ A visual simplification of the court’s ritual can be also applied in manuscripts. However, during other feasts the duke always occupied the central place, accompanied by the closest courtiers.

¹⁷² Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, “El Toisón de Oro: insignia heráldica y emblemática de la Monarquía Hispánica” in Rafael ZAFRA MOLINA, José Javier AZANZA LÓPEZ (eds.), *Emblemática Trascendente: Hermenéutica de La Imagen Iconología Del Texto* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2011), pp. 13-14.

¹⁷³ ADN, reg. B 2068, f. 106v. Also: GREVE, LEBAILLY, PARAVICINI, op. cit. para. 717.

for the furniture of the ducal palace's ballrooms. The cost of precious objects like the panels of the coats of arms with the gold pigment was higher than what was spent for other textile decorations, as disclosed in the analysed bills.¹⁷⁴

In the Burgundian court, the material value of the objects should have been clearly appreciable during the ceremonies when luxury artefacts were exposed and used with the aim of impressing courtiers, vassals, and foreign ambassadors. In the case of the Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece, such kind of luxury objects would confirm the economic capacity of the ducal treasure and would send a subliminal message concerning power. Chivalry, virtues, and piety of the knights and, especially, of the duke are clearly communicated through the iconographical system applied to precious items making references to the mythological Jason and Gideon, as it had been in use since the order was created in 1430. Also the tapestries and court poems would form a part of praising the duke's virtues, marking the relevance of the chivalry tradition.

The chivalric tradition was fundamental for the ideology of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the main subject to represent by visual media such as art pieces. Not just iconographical references or established model of representation of knights were a fundament for the tradition. At the end of the 15th century, the European heraldic system became not only a symbol of the noble class but also a kind of emblem that identified specific persons and their social position. Maintaining the presence of coats of arms as the personal representation should not be understood as a chivalric culture and recession of the court, in comparison with other modern patronage tendencies, like bourgeois portraits, but rather as the tradition. As a matter of fact, the coats of arms ordered for the chapter of Golden Fleece had a cost comparable with devotional portraits.

Although during the reign of Charles the Bold a developing tendency to order and to collect manuscripts with the moralist character was observed, unfortunately such phenomena could not be detected in the case of the first Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece presided by him, due to the absence of specific books with its representation.

Charles the Bold aimed to denote his position as new sovereign using visual resources communicating power, already well-established during the reign of his father. The approval of the new Duke of Burgundy as the Grand Master of the Order by the other members of the Assembly was expressed by court gestures and symbolism, like celebrations and feasts in the ducal palace or placing the throne in the middle of the room, as it had been before. Art pieces and decorations were made out of precious materials, ordered in the best workshops of Flanders and meant to express the superior position of the duke compared to the rest of the noble class. The fact that the Assembly was summoned just before the duke's wedding also confirmed a strong association with the tradition, since the order was founded in 1430 under similar circumstances.

Finally, the organization of celebrations demonstrated the continuity with the reign of Philip the Good, inclusive in the selection of artists, chosen among craftsmen who had been working for the court in the previous years. Orders of precious objects like

¹⁷⁴ In the studied materials there was no mention of tapestries or goldsmithery orders yet usually they were more expensive than paintings. For the comparison of tapestries prices see Gerardina TJABERTA VAN YSSELSTEYN, *Tapestry. The most expensive industry of the XVth and XVIth centuries: A renewed research into technic, origin and iconography* (The Hague, Brussels: van Goor, 1969), p. 35.

tapestries, cloths, and paintings were placed with workshops of prestigious artists, and the majority of them had the title of *valet de chambre* of the duke under Philip the Good. Among them, Pierre Coustain, Gerard Loyet, Michiel Le Seur, and Garnier Purcelot had been honoured with the exclusivity of working for the court, demonstrating that for the prestigious occasion of the Assembly of the Order of the Golden Fleece only the most selected and fine craftsmen could work.

CHAPTER VI

“DE LA RESEÑA QUE EL EMPERADOR MANDÓ HACER DE LOS GRANDES Y CABALLEROS DE SU CASA Y CORTE”. THE MILITARY MARCH IN HONOUR OF CHARLES V BEFORE THE CONQUEST OF TUNIS (BARCELONA, 1535)

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On the night of 14th of July 1535 a giant fleet arrived to the African coast, near the old city of Carthage. Emperor Charles V mandated the fleet with the purpose of taking the city of Tunis. In the heat of the battle between the Spanish Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire to rule the Mediterranean, Hayredd in Barbarossa, the admiral of Suleiman the Magnificent, had raided the Italian coasts and, later on he had treacherously taken the city of Tunis, governed by King Muley Hassan, an ally to Charles V. The Habsburg King decided to intervene claiming, in addition to the geostrategic reasons, the necessity to protect his subjects, the idea of a crusade and the defence of Christianity, which he was obliged to defend as Holy Roman Emperor; as well as the Renaissance concept of personal prestige. Charles V himself explained these reasons in a letter written on 9th of May to the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Navarre:

“para tal empresa, ha importado aquella tanto como importa al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, ya a la defensión y beneficio común de la república cristiana y particularmente de nuestros reinos; y a nuestra reputación ha parecido conveniente y he determinado embarcarme”.¹⁷⁵

Therefore, in terms of ideology, the new Machiavellian political practice seemed to coexist with medieval values. Good examples of this are the multiple references in chronicles to the great offence caused by the attempted kidnapping of Julia Gonzaga by the north-African pirates.¹⁷⁶ The survival of this chivalrous ideological framework was essential to understand the ceremony being the subject of this study, the great military march organised by Charles V in Barcelona, the base chosen to prepare the attack on Tunis. The event has been narrated in different chronicles (imperial ones – by Alonso de Santa Cruz, Fr Prudencio de Sandoval, Francisco López de Gómara, Martín García de Cereceda – as well as local one – by Pere Joan Comes), narrations – by Fr Gonzalo de Illescas, an anonymous one preserved at the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan and El Escorial, and in the diplomatic letter of Martín de Salinas, the ambassador of Ferdinand I, King of the Romans.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Prudencio de SANDOVAL OSB, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* (Amberes: Geronymo Verdussen, 1681), p. 161.

¹⁷⁶ Gonzalo de ILLESCAS OSH, “Jornada de Carlos V a Túnez” in Cayetano ROSELL (ed.), *Historiadores de sucesos particulares*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Altas, 1946), p. 2: “Entráronse por la tierra de noche hasta Fundi doscientos turcos con intención de prender a la hermosísima Julia Gonzaga, nuera de Próspero Colona, una de las más hermosas mujeres que se han visto en el mundo en nuestros tiempos (según refiere Ariosto en su Orlando Furioso, y así lo oí yo decir a quien la conoció), y es averiguado que volaba la fama de su extraña hermosura y graciosísimos ojos”.

¹⁷⁷ Archivo del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (AIVDJ), 26-I-23, *Alarde que su Magestad mandó hazer en Barcelona quando se embaró (sic) para la jornada de Túnez año de mil quinientos treinta y tres (sic)*, 1535, ff. 59-61r; Fernando BOUZÁ, “Cultura nobiliaria y ejercicios de guerra” in Carlos José Hernando (ed.), *Las fortificaciones de Carlos V* (Madrid: Ediciones del Umbral, 2000), pp. 114-115; *Tratado de la*

The artistic representations of the “Conquest of Tunis” have been thoroughly studied, understood as a key milestone in the presentation of Charles V's image.¹⁷⁸ In addition to the well-known tapestry series ordered by Mary of Hungary, the specialists have paid preferential attention to the triumphal welcoming celebrated in Italy after the Emperor's return, received as the Scipio revived.¹⁷⁹ (Fig. 6.1) However, little interest was paid to the presence of Charles V in Barcelona (between March and the end of May 1535) before setting off to Africa, which we wish to partially clarify here.¹⁸⁰

THE GREAT MILITARY MARCH

Among the celebrated events, the most prominent one is the great military march, referred to in the chronicles as “reseña”, “alarde” or “muestra general”.¹⁸¹ Such parade

memoria que S. M. embió a la Emperatriz nuestra Señora del ayuntamiento del armada, reseña y alarde que se hizo en Barcelona (Alcalá de Henares, s.a.) in Martín FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE et. al. (eds.), *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1842), pp. 158-159; Josep PUIGGARI (ed.), *Llibre d'algunes coses assenaylades succehides en Barcelona y en altres parts format per Pere Joan Comes en 1583* (Barcelona: La Renaixença, 1878), pp. 439-444; GARCÍA DE CERECEDA Martín, *Tratado de las campañas y otros acontecimientos de los ejércitos del Emperador Carlos V*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1874), pp.7-8; ILLESCAS, op. cit, p. 4; Miguel Ángel DE BUNES IBARRA, Nora Edith JIMÉNEZ HERNÁNDEZ (eds.), *Francisco López de Gómara. Las guerras del mar del Emperador Carlos V* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), p. 161; Antonio RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, *El Emperador Carlos V y su corte según las cartas de don Manuel de Salinas embajador del infante don Fernando* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1903); SANDOVAL, op. cit., pp. 652-653; Alonso de SANTA CRUZ, *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, vol. 3 (Madrid: publicado por D. Antonio Blázquez y Delgado-Aguilera y D. Ricardo Beltrán Rózpide, 1922-1925), pp. 257-261.

¹⁷⁸ Among the numerous publications, it is worth highlighting those of Fernando CHECA CREMADES, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe en el Renacimiento* (Madrid: Taurus, 1987); idem, *Carlos V. La imagen del poder en el Renacimiento* (Madrid: El Viso, 1999); Sylvie DESWARTE-ROSA, “L'expédition de Tunis (1535): Images, interprétations, repercussions culturelles” in Bartolomé BENASSAR, Robert SAUZET (eds.), *Chrétiens et musulmans à la Renaissance. Actes du 37eme Colloque International du CESR* (Paris: Honore Champion, 1998), pp. 75-132; Hendrik J. HORN, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Painter of Charles V and his Conquest of Tunis: Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons and Tapestries*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989).

¹⁷⁹ The triumphal welcoming of Charles V in Italy have generated a vast amount of references, as well as the festive art celebrated during his reign in general. To study it, we refer to the wide and fundamental status of the issue, as published by: Fernando CHECA CREMADES, “Fiestas imperiales. Una reflexión historiográfica” in Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA (eds.), *Visiones de un imperio en fiesta* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2016), pp. 61-92.

¹⁸⁰ María Àngels PÉREZ, “Les festes reials a la Catalunya del Barroc” in Albert ROSSICH (ed.), *El barroccatalà. Actes de les jornadescelebrades a Girona els dies 17, 18 i 19 de desembre de 1987* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema-Vallcorba, 1989), pp. 345-377; Josep TARÍN, *Dia de les forcesarmades. Exposició: l'expedició de Carles I a Tunis desde Barcelona* (Barcelona: Capitanía General de Cataluña-Ayuntamiento de Barcelona-Ministerio de Cultura, 1981); Joaquín YARZA LUACES, *El arte en Cataluña y los reinos hispanos en tiempos de Carlos I* (Barcelona: Sociedad estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000).

¹⁸¹ Fr Prudencio de Sandoval describes it in his chronicle in the following manner: “Mandó hacer alarde de los caballos que había en la Corte para embarcarlos, que de los demás y de los soldados ya tenía nómina”, and he refers to it again as “muestra general”, see SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 184; López de Gómara uses very similar terms: “Mandó el Emperador hacer alarde de los caballos que había en su corte para embarcar, que los demás y de los soldados ya tenía nómina”, see BUNES IBARRA, JIMÉNEZ HERNÁNDEZ

on the 14th of May, 1535. The participants gathered between three and five in the morning. The march took place outside the city walls, east of the city, in a field called de la Laguna or de la Marina. The troops accessed it through the Portal Nuevo and the Portal de Santa Clara, as explained in detail in *Alarde* from 1535:

“Jueves a XIII de mayo su Magestad mandó pregonar que todos los señores y caballeros que han de pasar con él para otro día viernes a las tres de la mañana estuviesen todos a punto armados y a cavallo para hazer reseña y muestra y que saliessen por el portal nuevo y por el portal de sancta clara al campo de la marina”.¹⁸²

This same text relates the great interest among the population. Faced with the large number of spectators, the Caesar ordered his German and Spanish guards – dressed in liveries with the colours of Charles V – to clear the space.¹⁸³

The scene must have been magnificent thanks to the participation of between 1,000 and 1,500 noble knights,¹⁸⁴ accompanied by “sus criados a caballo, tales, que podían pelear y entrar en batalla”. Obviously, among the relevant figures, the most prominent one in the studied texts is Charles V. Thus, Fr Prudencio de Sandoval explains how “a las cinco de la mañana, salió Su Majestad al lugar que estaba señalado, armado de todas armas, salvo la cabeza, que llevó descubierta, con una maza de hierro dorada en la mano”,¹⁸⁵ Alonso de Santa Cruz describes it similarly: “salió muy gentil hombre cabalgando en un caballo turco con una maza de armas en la mano”.¹⁸⁶ The longest narration is in the story preserved at the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan: the Emperor was preceded by equerries, pages, and a retinue of guards on horseback. Charles V wore an armour over which he laid a “sayo de red de oro y seda de grana assentada la red sobre el carmesí muy luzido”. It was covered with a “chapeo”, a hat with crown and brim, in the same colours and a white feather. Next to him walked the bishop of Urgell –probably Francisco de Urriés, head of the diocese between 1533 and 1551; “el tesorero Çuaçola” Pedro de Suazola, knight of Santiago and treasurer; “el secretario Samano” Juan de Samano, a native of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, who became Secretary of the Council of the Indies and the “alcalde Mercado”, escorted by his bailiffs (Fig. 6.2).

Martín García de Cereceda and Alonso de Santa Cruz explain the reason for this gathering: the main nobles had no clear understanding of the aim of this campaign nor did the people in charge of military direction; therefore, they named cardinal Sigüenza and the all-powerful secretary Francisco de los Cobos as representatives to ask the Emperor about these issues. Charles V “sin darles respuesta alguna mandó que otro día, 14 de mayo, se armasen los grandes y caballeros cortesanos

(eds.), op. cit., p. 161. As for Alonso de Santa Cruz, he uses the term “reseña” (SANTA CRUZ, op. cit., p. 257).

¹⁸² AIVDJ, 26-I-23, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁸³ Other references are found in the work of Fr Prudencio de Sandoval, who explains how the men “juntáronse a la puerta que llaman de Perpiñán, en el campo de La Laguna”, see SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 159. Also, the *Llibre* narrates how “samagestat fonch á cauall y armatfora lo portal de San Daniel al loch del canyetahont foren tots los cauallers cortesans y los que hauien de anar ab la armada de samagestat per fer lo alarde”, see Josep PUIGGARI (ed.), op. cit., p. 443.

¹⁸⁴ The number varies between more than 1,000 according to Comes, through 1,400 as mentioned by Salinas and Alonso de Santa Cruz, to a maximum of 1,500 in Fr Prudencio de Sandoval and Francisco López de Gomara's opinion.

¹⁸⁵ SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁸⁶ SANTA CRUZ, op. cit., p. 259.

de su casa y Corte, porque quería hacer reseña de ellos y de su gente, y que saliesen al campo a las cuatro de la mañana”.¹⁸⁷ The following day:

“el Emperador se puso delante del escuadrón de los grandes y les dijo cómo ellos le habían enviado a decir que les hiciese saber dónde era su voluntad de ir y que aquello les respondía que no quisiesen saber el secreto de su Señor, y a lo que más querían saber de quién había de ser su Capitán general, que él se lo mostraría, y a la hora mandó desplegar sus banderas y estandartes y les mostró un rico y devoto crucifijo que en él estaba figurado, les dijo que aquel había de ser su Capitán general y que a él habían de obedecer por su Alférez”.¹⁸⁸

The historicity of the fact is not certain; other narrations do not mention him or place him already at sea or even in Sardinia (Francisco López de Gómara and Fr Prudencio de Sandoval).¹⁸⁹ Regardless the certainty of the event, its appearance in several chronicles proves the strong messianic and crusade-oriented value surrounding the incursion to Africa.

Charles V himself, it seems, was responsible for organising the warriors in formation. He arranged them in two squadrons with clear hierarchic value: the first one with the Grantees and nobles, and the second one composed of the remaining knights and courtiers. The personal involvement of the Caesar is highlighted by Alonso de Santa Cruz, who explains how he was “andando de cuadrilla en cuadrilla, ordenando y repartiendo la gente”.¹⁹⁰ Fr Prudencio de Sandoval's rendition, always at tentative to an ecdotal elements, explains that:

“El Emperador puso en orden a los caballeros; uno de ellos desconcertaba el orden, y el Emperador, enojado, puso las piernas al caballo, rompiendo por medio del escuadrón, y llegando a él le hirió con la maza en la cabeza, y volviéndose hacia donde el duque de Alba y otros caballeros estaban dijo: *No hay cosa más dificultosa que regir bien y gobernar un escuadrón*”.¹⁹¹

Then, Charles V ordered the guards (*veedores*) of the War Council to parade in front of him, with their names and numbers written down.¹⁹² This fact is clearly seen on the tapestry, where we can see two civil servants sitting next to the Caesar. Alonso de Santa Cruz described the march: “Y así mandó que delante de él pasase cada grande con sus continos”¹⁹³, as well as in the letter sent by the ambassador Salinas to Ferdinand I from 28th of May: “S.M. armado, y en persona sentado con sus oficiales tomó la muestra de todos los que aquel parecieron” (Fig. 6.3).¹⁹⁴

Thus, the warriors marched before Charles V abundantly armed and in lines of three. They were flanked by their pages, families, soldiers, squires, etc. in a strict hierarchic order, as explained by Fr Prudencio de Sandoval:

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 258. Martín García de Cereceda tells the event in similar terms, see MARTÍN GARCÍA DE CERECEDA, op. cit., p.7.

¹⁸⁹ BUNES IBARRA, JIMÉNEZ HERNÁNDEZ (eds.), op. cit., pp. 163-164; SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 152.

¹⁹⁰ SANTA CRUZ, op. cit., p.259. In similar terms, Martín García de Cereceda describes that Charles V “mandó que de los grandes señores se hiciese un escuadrón y otro de los cortesanos”, see GARCÍA DE CERECEDA, op. cit., p. 7

¹⁹¹ SANDOVAL, op. cit., p.159.

¹⁹² AIVDJ, 26-I-23, op. cit. p.115.

¹⁹³ SANTA CRUZ, op. cit., p. 258.

¹⁹⁴ RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, op. cit., p. 652.

“todos los señores y caballeros cortesanos iban de tres en tres, y detrás de cada tres caballeros, tres pajes que les llevaban las armas, lanza y celada: los caballos, encubiertos; las armas y vestidos de tanta riqueza, cuanta a cada uno fue posible”.¹⁹⁵

Most narrations include long lists of the nobles present, most of which coincide, although there are differences in the names, the order of marching and members of the retinue. The texts containing more details are the chronicle by Alonso de Santa Cruz and the two anonymous narrations preserved. They generally list the nobles and their escort, at the same time they emphasise the material wealth and the heraldry of their arms and suits.

For example, the Count of Benavente was accompanied by twenty knights on horseback in armour, covered both in purple velvet and with silver sleeves; the group was accompanied by *infantes* with a heraldic doublet armed with golden partisans, two trumpet players, and a jester, Perico “the Crazy”.¹⁹⁶

The Duke of Alba, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz, marched richly dressed, he and his horse covered with brocade, and accompanied by twenty armed knights, a page and eight harquebusiers. The anonymous narration, however, describes a different event:

“El duque de Alva salió con el adelantado cuñado de Covos ricamente aderezados sus personas y con él los priores de Sanct Juan y muchos deudos y amigos y servidores suyos de la casa de Toledo. Llevaba delante de sy quatro pajes con diferentes armaduras de cabeças y lanças y todos los otros cavalleros muy bien aderezados de brocado y recamados con veyntearcabuços delante y çiento y veynte de cavallo detrás vestidos de sus colores.”¹⁹⁷

According to Alonso de Santa Cruz, the Count of Valencia, dressed in brocade, was accompanied by twelve knights in purple, with purple horse blankets; the anonymous narration also describes family members and twelve harquebusiers on foot.

Another figure mentioned is the Count of Orgaz, richly dressed in velvet, with gold and silver. He was escorted by an important retinue: Alonso de Santa Cruz lists eight knights in black, four pages and six lads in rich velvet dresses with yellow tunics. On the other hand, the anonymous narration reports twenty-five horsemen with silk heraldic liveries, accompanied by their stable boys with harquebusiers.

The Count of Chinchón marched later on, accompanied by eight horsemen and six lads, all of them with black liveries, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz. The anonymous document increases the number of horsemen to thirty, dressed in silk with heraldic motifs, and it mentions harquebusiers leading the retinue, maybe the aforementioned lads.

The different descriptions also coincide in the presence of the Marquis of Aguilar, but, as always, they differ in the composition of the escort. While the imperial writer explains that “salió vestido de negro, con 12 hombres de armas vestidos de terciopelo negro, con una manga de terciopelo leonado, y seis lacayos de la mismalibrea”, the anonymous narration mentions a series of relatives and friends, thirty horsemen dressed in silk with heraldic colours and twelve harquebusiers on foot.

¹⁹⁵ SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁹⁶ The following descriptions of the nobles participating in the military march are entirely taken from: SANTA CRUZ, op. cit., pp. 258-259 and AIVDJ, 26-I-23, op. cit. pp. 114-115.

¹⁹⁷ AIVDJ, 26-I-23, p. 115.

The discrepancies also occur in the case of the Count of Montesclaros a marquis since 1530: Alonso de Santa Cruz describes him as flanked by four knights, four lackeys and a page, all dressed in black velvet. However, the document from the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan increases the number of people significantly:

“detrás sus pajes con sus armaduras de cabeça diferentes y lanças y luego sus hermanos y otros muchos cavalleros deudos y amigos y criados ricamente adereçados los dos sus hermanos del conde llevavançiento y ochenta de cavallo muy bien adereçados”.¹⁹⁸

Regarding the Marquis of Llombay, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz, he was dressed in silver with gold bows, flanked by a page dressed in brocade and four lackeys. On the other hand, the anonymous author presents him surrounded by a large group of Valencian knights, “sus personas mucho adereçadas de brocado bordados sayos y cubiertas con veynte de cavallo vestidos de seda de sus colores y diez arcabuzeros a pie”.

The different stories also mention the Count of Cifuentes who, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz, marched before Charles V “vestido de brocade pelo y tela de plata frisada, y tres hombres de armas y seis lacayos y un paje”; with other knights from Aragon, sixteen horsemen and fifteen harquebusiers in the anonymous text.

Only two more people are mentioned in both narrations. On the one hand, Pedro de Zúñiga, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz accompanied by twelve men-at-arms, two pages dressed in purple and yellow velvet, and eight lackeys. In the text by an unknown author, he is mentioned as accompanied by the Count of Aguilar, “con otros cavalleros parientes y amigos ricamente adereçados sus personas de tela de oro y plata y brocado, treynta y çinco de cavallo armados que son todos los que han de yr en una galera y sus moços despuelas con sus arcabuzes a pie”.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, Juan de Vega appeared with eight men-at-arms, a page and six lackeys in black velvet, according to Alonso de Santa Cruz, and with fourteen horsemen and harquebusiers on foot, according to the unknown author.

The different descriptions of the march list all the other people present in the parade. Among those referred to by Alonso de Santa Cruz, it is necessary to mention, in the first place, Luis of Portugal, a brother of King John III and Empress Isabella, who “salió de tela de plata frisada con bordaduras coloradas, y cuatro hombres de armas y un paje vestidos de terciopelo pardo”. He also names Juan Manrique de Lara, Luís Fajardo, Luís de la Cueva and Pedro Guzmán.

The narration of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan reports, for its part, the presence of the Count of Coruña, the Marquis of Elche, the Major Knight Commander of Alcántara, the Count of Nieva, Pedro González de Mendoza, Alonso de Silva, Sancho de Córdoba, Lord Ayerve, and Marquis of Cogolludo, who “salió desarmado con un sayo de paño negro, porque estava malo, con tres hermanos, el uno bastardo, ricamente adereçados con veynte y çinco de cavallo vestidos de seda de sus colores diez arcabuzeros a pié”.²⁰⁰ It also mentions the presence of:

“Flamencos cavalleros cada uno salió con su gente, sus personas ricamente adereçadas de brocado y recamados y sus criados de seda vestidos cada uno como quien era. El príncipe de Salmona y Laxao y el príncipe de Maçedonia y otros señores, uno con veynte de a cavallo, otro

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 114.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 115.

con diez e otro con ocho y cada uno déstos con lo que más podía, muy bien adereçados de seday italianos señores y cavalleros así mismo mucho bien adereçados”.²⁰¹

This document also devotes a few lines to describe the closure of the march. It was arranged by the Major Knigh, Commander of León, Francisco de los Cobos, the plenipotentiary secretary of Charles V, who held such position in the order of Santiago since 1529, who “salió desarmado en cuerpo con muy gruesa cadena de oro con un sayo de terciopelo negro con dos cavalleros desarmados”; Andrea Doria, and the “capitán de los portugueses”, presumably Fadrique de Portugal. According to Alonso de Santa Cruz “salió vestido de tela de oro amarillo con una trepadura de terciopelo morado y cordones de plata y el caballo de lo mismo, con dos hombres de armas y un paje de terciopelo negro recamado de oro, y cuatro lacayos”. Accompanying this group, four “de diestro” horses—that is, pulling with the use of the bridle are mentioned with rich embroidery covers, as well as seventeen servants on horseback, armed and dressed in tawny velvet, and three pages with helmets with elegant plumes.

After inspecting the troops, they marched through the city towards the Emperor's home²⁰² surrounded by the air of great expectations, as told in the anonymous narration: “Después de acabada la reseña su Magestad los puso en orden para entrar en la ciudad, adonde en la Carrer ampla estaban muchas damas y monjas a las ventanas muy ricamente adereçadas para verlas entrar”.²⁰³ Ambassador Salinas described this march with admiration in the letter to Ferdinand I, written on 28th of May, where he explains how Charles V “acabada la muestra los puso en orden y entró con ellos en la cibdad, la guarda de pié delante, y los oficiales y caballeriza tras ellos; y luego un estandarte grande y colorado y en él pintado un Crucifixo con la devisa de *Plus Ultra*. Fue esta muestra muy lucida”.²⁰⁴ Fr Prudencio de Sandoval dedicates a few lines to describe the Caesar's retinue, composed of two hundred German and Spanish guards, one hundred archers on horseback, armed and with yellow liveries and purple-velvet sashes; as well as twenty-two pages

“cada uno en su caballo de la caballeriza del Emperador y vestidos de una librea; traían algunos caballos cubiertas y testeras, otros con paramentos a la turquesca, y otros a la jineta con ricos jaeces. Cada paje llevaba en la mano las armas que podía jugar y usar el Emperador en la guerra. Uno llevaba el almete o celada, otro la lanza de armas, otro la jineta, otro la rodela, otro un arco con flechas, oro ballesta, otro un arcabuz”.²⁰⁵

The anonymous narration located in El Escorial, to conclude, explains the end of the ceremony as follows: “Y acabando de pasar por la Marina, disparó el artillería de la tierra y de las galeras y de toda la armada, que parecía que se hundía la ciudad. Así fueron todos con S.M. hasta su posada a donde se apeó”.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Josep PUIGGARI (ed.), op. cit., p. 443: “ab son orden sen entraren per lo dit portal de Sant Daniel y per la marina y carrer Ampleanaren al palatio de samagestat á la Rambla”.

²⁰³ AIVDJ, 26-I-23, op. cit, p. 115. The festive environment is also described by Fr Prudencio de Sandoval, who explains that “era tanta la gente noble y común, que no cabían en la ciudad ni se podía andar por las calles” (Sandoval, op. cit., p. 159); and by ambassador Salinas. In the letter to Ferdinand I, he explains: “es cosa increíble los caballeros que cada vienen para ir en esta jornada”, see RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, op. cit., p. 644.

²⁰⁴ RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, op. cit., p. 652.

²⁰⁵ SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁰⁶ GARCÍA DE CERECEDA, op. cit., p.159.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MARCH IN VISUAL ARTS

Regardless of the wealth of this “alarde”, its repercussions in the field of the arts were almost none. However, there is a magnificent exception: the second panel of the series *The Conquest of Tunis*, weaved in a workshop in Brussels by Willem de Pannemaker between 1548 and 1554 from sketches by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, commissioned by Mary of Hungary, sister of Charles V (532 cm x 715 cm, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid).²⁰⁷ (Fig. 6.4)

The scene takes place in the wilderness outside the city of Barcelona. There is a large fleet of galleons at the port. In the foreground, there is a powerful heavy cavalry group marching in front of the Emperor. The riders are clad in shiny armour, covered in rich barding and surcoats. The spectator witnesses, thus, the exhibition of overwhelming strength and power that Charles V can gather as the main ruler of Christianity.

The Emperor himself is represented directing the “muestra o alarde de los grandes caualleros de su casa y corte”, as shown in the painting.²⁰⁸ His appearance is similar to that described in the chronicles: he is on horseback, with a harness covered by a rich red fabric, hat, and bearing the symbols of royal power – the sceptre – and of high personal and dynastic value – the Golden Fleece. Charles V is in the centre of the design, in the background, as in other tapestries of the series. This emphasises his role as a prince capable of coordinating Christianity, whose representatives orbit around him, looking for a higher common goal and ideal, the fight against Islam – represented aptly at that time – or Protestantism – when the tapestries were commissioned, after the war with the Schmalkaldic League.

The rest of the panels focus on showing, with great precision and realism, the campaign actions of the imperial army deployed in Tunis; mostly thanks to the anonymous *infantes* with arms, such as arquebuses. In this tapestry, the focus is not on these “new heroes” of the modern war, but the traditional nobility represented by its ideal model, that of cavalry, featuring powerful mounts, shining armours and the exclusive heraldic devices. The reproduction is an example of the most perfect aristocratic imagery: it shows an elitist, courtly, self-representative and upper-class-legitimising ceremony of a noble society, with a strong hierarchy, with the Emperor at the top.

In this sense, the image seems to illustrate the thesis proposed by Joseph Pérez of a Charles V as a man between two worlds: the Middle Ages and the Modern

²⁰⁷ As the works referred to in note 5, it is worth mentioning other recent works such as those: Fernando CHECA CREMADES, *Tesoros de la corona de España* (Madrid: Fonds Mercator, 2010), pp. 160-179; idem., “The language of triumph: Images of war and victory in two early modern tapestry series” in idem, Laura FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ (eds.), *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 22-35; Elizabeth CLELAND (ed.), *Grand Design. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and renaissance Tapestry* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), pp. 320-335; Miguel Ángel DE BUNES IBARRA, “Vermeyen y los tapices de la conquista de Túnez. Historia y representación” in Bernardo GARCÍA (ed.), *La imagen de la guerra en el arte de los antiguos Países Bajos* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2006), pp. 95-134; Antonio GOZALBO NADAL, “Tapices y crónica, imágenes y texto: un entramado persuasivo al servicio de la imagen de Carlos V”, *Potestas* 9 (2016), pp. 109-134.

²⁰⁸ Wilfried SEIPEL (ed.), *Der Kriegszug Kaiser Karls V. gegen Tunis. Kartons und Tapisserien* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2000), p. 62.

Period,²⁰⁹ next to the Emperor and his knights there is a table where the civil scribes are seated, armed with their quills, key elements of the administrative device of the new authoritarian states.

CONCLUSIONS

The days Charles V spent in Barcelona in 1535 can be understood as a time of dual action, as result of the understanding of the royal role of the Modern Period. The Emperor moved to the city to accelerate the tremendous complexity of the prepared war action, dealing with the arrival of troops, the financing needs and the request for support of the applies. At the same time, his activities are complemented with a series of court acts the festive reception of the fleets, visits to local institutions, participation in religious rites such as the Corpus Christi celebration, related to his “representation duty”, the concept sensed and proposed by Norber Elias at the beginning of the 20th century.²¹⁰

The military march studied here represented, thus, the culmination of such intense court and palace activities. The ceremony has been a result of several events, necessary for the emergence of the Modern Period festivities, especially in the strict Habsburg line. On the one hand, the reference to rituals of Ancient history, such as the Roman victory and, more specifically, the “decursio” acereimonial horsemen march in imperial exaltation, known due to its representation on coins and in the reliefs at the base of the column of Antoninus Pius (Vatican Museums, Rome, 2nd century). The topic of “victory” had been recovered during the Renaissance in Italy. In fact, some of the most prominent processions led by Charles V himself, specifically those celebrated in relation to the imperial coronation (Bologna, 1530) and, precisely, those aimed at receiving the Caesar when he returned from this successful “Conquest of Tunis” in 1535-1536. The second-to-last tapestry of the series, *The exit of Tunis towards the camp of Rada*, original lost, copied by Jodocus de Vos in 1712-1721, (527 cm x 890cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (Fig. 6.5), also seems inspired in this kind of Roman festive ritual.

On the other hand, we must add to these *all’antica* values the festive tradition of the *joyeux entrées*, such as the one led by Charles V in Bruges in 1515 with chivalrous origin from Burgundy, revived by Maximilian I with a Habsburg touch. The specific terms of the war campaign added specific traits to these initial factors, such as the value of crusade, the religious exaltation and the messianic character, that became a complex and fascinating cultural device of great exhortative value.

The ceremony is defined with a value that is specific to the Humanist culture, such as the princely magnificence of Aristotelian origin. The references to the opulence are numerous in the chronicles. Thus, Fr Prudencio de Sandoval explains how “hubo hasta mil y quinientos, con ricos aderezos de jaeces y otras buenas guarniciones, que cada caballero procuraba ir galán tan bien como armado”; Comes speaks of the presence of “mes de mil homens d’armes molt ben armats y luyts”; the most attractive reference is, perhaps, the narration of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, where it is told how

²⁰⁹ Joseph PÉREZ, *Carlos V* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999).

²¹⁰ Norbert ELÍAS, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Neuwied and Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1969); idem, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen* (Basel: Haus zum Falken, 1939).

“pasaron estos y muchos otros caballeros muy bien adereçados de seda, que en toda la muestra no hubo paño”.²¹¹

After long days of preparations and ceremonies, on 30th of May at 11 A.M., Charles V embarked on a skiff to be taken to the leading galleon. The following day, the giant fleet weighed the anchors, in a great farewell of the Emperor: “Salió toda la ciudad a verle embarcar, soltaron el artillería del lugar, y de todas las naos y galeras, y partióse con tanta música que fue de oír”.²¹²

After adding new ships and men in Sardinia, the Emperor disembarked on the African sands in mid-June and succeeded in conquering Tunis. In fact, this campaign did not have many consequences, as Barbarossa managed to escape and, from his pirate hideout in Algiers, he continued to punish the Western Mediterranean coasts. However, this reality was superimposed and covered with another “truth”, selfish and forged with laudatory texts, artistic productions and dazzling ceremonies, aimed at creating the image of Charles V as an authoritarian and invincible Caesar. In that sense, the military march studied here had a relevant role, poorly researched so far and capable to, as we hope, motivate further studies.

²¹¹ SANDOVAL, op. cit., p. 159; AIVDJ, 26-I-23, op. cit., p. 115; Josep PUIGGARI (ed.), op. cit., p. 443.

²¹² BUNES IBARRA, JIMÉNEZ (eds.), op. cit., p. 162.

CHAPTER VII
*CONDOS INFANTES COLMA LA REAL CUNA*²¹³. THE FESTIVALS FOR TWIN
GRANDCHILDREN OF CHARLES III AND FOR THE BRITISH PEACE IN 1784

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At the beginning of September 1783 the King of Spain, Charles III (Fig. 7.1) and his kingdom were involved in several affairs of the Crown. On the one hand, Spain signed the peace treaty with Great Britain on the 3rd of September, which permitted to preserve the Spanish domination on Menorca and Florida, it also re-established control over colonies: Campeche and Providencia. In addition, Spain retook the coast of Nicaragua and Mosquitos. On the other hand, on 5th of September the King became grandfather.²¹⁴ The Prince and Princess of Asturias (the future Charles IV and his wife, Maria Luisa of Parma) had twins, which ensured the stability of the kingdom. Also, on this occasion all cities organized celebrations to wish the best and long life to Carlos Francisco de Paula (5th of September 1783 – 11th of November, 1784) and Felipe Francisco de Paula (5th of September, 1783 – 18th of October, 1784).

The royal family expressed its power by many festivals across the country.²¹⁵ At the same time the cities, together with their institutions and guilds, showed the loyalty to the sovereign. Generally speaking, guilds organized their private celebrations and also participated in the cities' feasts, religious and civil ones. For example beatifications, canonizations, Corpus Christi processions, royal weddings, celebration of births of successors and also triumphal entrances or celebrations of military victories.²¹⁶ This paper aims to study the celebrations organized in Valencia that were a massive event with the intention to glorify the Monarchy. The guilds, the parishes and some institutions, such as the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Valencia, contributed to construct ephemeral artworks to the festival.

²¹³ "Two Infants fulfill the royal cradle". The sentence comes from a sonnet written by José de Viera y Clavijo, *Al felicísimo nacimiento de los dos Serenísimos Infantes Gemelos, que ha dado a luz la Princesa, soneto* (Madrid, 1783).

²¹⁴ To find more about the historical context, see María Victoria LÓPEZ-CORDÓN, María Ángeles PÉREZ SAMPER, María Teresa MARTÍNEZ DE SAS (eds.), *La Casa de Borbón (1700 - 1808)*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2000).

To know more about the image of the dynasty of Borbón, see María Ángeles PÉREZ SAMPER, "La imagen de la monarquía española en el siglo XVIII", *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 20 (2011), pp. 105-139.

²¹⁵ In relation to monarchic festivals to celebrate births, it is necessary to consult: Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, "La esperanza de la monarquía. Fiestas en el imperio hispánico por Felipe Próspero" in Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Víctor MÍNGUEZ (dir.), *Visiones de un imperio en fiesta* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2016), pp. 91-119.

²¹⁶ The same author studied the implication of the carpenters' guild in the Valencian festivals. Additionally, she contributes a panoramic view concerning the participation of the guilds in the ephemeral art and in the celebrations. These reflections are available in: Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, "Artefactos de madera. El gremio de carpinteros y el arte efímero barroco en la ciudad de Valencia" in Paula REVENGA (ed.), *Arte barroco y vida cotidiana en la monarquía hispánica* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, El Colegio de Michoacán, 2017).

CELEBRATIONS OF THE PEACE WITH THE GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BIRTH OF GRANDCHILDREN

Charles III signed a royal charter the 22nd of October, 1783 that encouraged the participation in *Las demostraciones de piedad y regocijos públicos que deben hacerse en todo el reino con motivo de los prósperos sucesos que ha experimentado esta Monarquía en el feliz parto de la Princesa nuestra Señora, nacimiento de los dos Infantes Carlos y Felipe, y el ajuste definitivo de paz con la Nación Británica*.²¹⁷ (Fig. 7.2) The charter was written in the Monastery and Royal Palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial and issued to all cities. In nine regulations the king established the typology of ceremonies that formed part of the festivals. The cities with the privilege to vote in the General Courts were invited to join to the congratulations on the birth of the twins, to celebrate a solemn mass, to sing the *Te Deum* and to preach the sermon. In addition, the local governments had the obligation to pay for the light decoration to embellish the cities, for three days.

The Archivo Histórico Municipal de Valencia preserves requests from the guilds, parishes and institutions to the local government that confirm the realisation of the Royal order in the city of Valencia. The documents describe with details the city's contribution to the festivals and specified the actuaciones like giving alms to the poor people, participation in processions, construction of altars, design of arches and also the creation of triumphal carriages having the form of animal or vessel that included visually-dramatic staging of History and tried to impress the public.²¹⁸

The city participation during the Bourbon dynasty reign was really similar to that during the Habsburg époque. By this medium the Monarchy manifested its power and verified the loyalty of the people.

On that occasion, several authors wrote laudatory poems, prayers and sermons in honour of the newborn Infants. The example of one of literal compositions is the *Oración eucarística o panegírico* pronounced on the 14th of December, 1783 in the Royal Monastery of St Benedict in Zamora.²¹⁹ The author of this poem was Fr Plácido Vicente, a monk in the Royal Monastery of St Dominic of Silos in Burgos. His writing compares members of the royal family with biblical characters. For example, the Princess of Asturias was related with Rebeca.²²⁰ The use of this analogy is logical, as Rebeca was Isaac's wife and she was infertile as the Book of Genesis relates.

According to the story, God blessed her and she could have twins, their names were Esaú and Jacob (Gn 25, 21- 24). Traditionally, Rebeca has been established as a symbol of fertility.²²¹ Next the author made a comparison between Charles III and King

²¹⁷ It's interesting to read the royal charter from 22th of October, 1783.

²¹⁸ RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, "La esperanza de la monarquía...", op. cit., p. 9.

²¹⁹ PLÁCIDO VICENTE, OP, *Oración eucarística o panegírico que en acción de gracias por los dos infantes gemelos, dados a luz por nuestra augusta princesa y por la gloriosa paz ajustada con la Corona Británica, dixo en el Real Monasterio de S. Benito de Zamora en 14 de diciembre del año de 1783* (Madrid: D. Joachin Ibarra, impresor de Cámara de S.M., 1784).

²²⁰ The author explained that: "El Dios de nuestros padres ha visitado en la plenitud de sus misericordias a nuestra muy augusta y cara Princesa, y en ella, como en otra Rebeca, nos ha concedido de una sola vez dos Príncipes gemelos herederos del Imperio". See *ibid.*, p. 5.

²²¹ In fact the character of Rebeca was associated with other queens. The case of Mariana Josepha of

David, who received the promise from God concerning health, prosperity and stability of the throne. The author of the poem applies the same virtues to the Spanish Monarchy. Charles III announced the empire's victories to citizens and he demanded their help to propagate the good news and to celebrate in the form of festivals. In the same way, King David invited all people that were godfearing to come and admire the wonders made by the divinity to the kingdom.²²²

In fact, according to Fr Plácido Vicente, the biblical King asked: “¿Cómo podré yo solo publicar dignamente la magnificencia de unos dones más elevados que los Cielos? [...] ¿Cómo anunciar una gloria, que de un extremo a otro ha llenado de júbilo y alegría a toda la tierra?”.²²³ It is important to remark that Charles III used the guilds to announce the good news across the country.

For the same feast, one should also consider the *Sermón en la solemnidad de acción de gracias, que de orden del Rey Nuestro Señor por el nacimiento de los dos Señores Infantes Gemelos Carlos y Felipe, y por la paz concluida*, written by José Antonio Porcel y Salablanca (1715 – 1794).²²⁴ He was a canon of the Cathedral of Granada, where this sermon was pronounced in 1784. As the text explained, the public prayed for the birth of the twins after the Princes of Asturias had lost two male children, Carlos Clemente Antonio (19th of September, 1771 – 7th of March, 1774) and Carlos Domingo Eusebio (5th of March, 1780 – 11th of June, 1783). The latter died some months before the twins were born. Obviously, the new births strengthened the image of stability of the Crown. However, it is necessary to add the importance of the peace treaty signed with Great Britain.²²⁵

Like Antonio Porcel y Salablanca, other authors have also reflected the contradistinction of life experiences of the prince and his wife. That is how José de

Austria, who died in 1754 may serve as an example here. During her funeral rites this prayer was read where she was compared with others famous biblical women: “En este día, digo, faltó a la religión una Sara celosísima; al Reino de Portugal, una Judith valerosa, a la nobleza, una Raquel esclarecida; a la fortaleza, una Jael resuelta; a la compasión, una Rebeca tierna” in FRANCISCO ANTONIO FREYLE, *Oración fúnebre que en las reales exequias celebradas por la comunidad de las señoras Descalzas Reales, a la gloriosa memoria de la fidelísima reina de Portugal, la Señora Doña Mariana Josepha de Austria, los días 2 y 3 de diciembre de 1754* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Pérez Soto, 1755).

²²² To be specific, the writer said that king David: “invitó, convocó y llamó a todos los que temían a su Dios, que viniesen a admirar y ver las grandes maravillas, que había obrado en su alma, y sobre todo en su Reino.” in VICENTE, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

²²⁴ See José Antonio PORCEL, *Sermón en la solemnidad de acción de gracias, que de orden del Rey Nuestro Señor, por el Nacimiento de los dos Señores Infantes Gemelos Carlos y Felipe, y por la paz concluida, celebró en su Catedral el Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Granada, asistido de su Ilustrísimo Prelado, y del muy Noble, y Leal Ayuntamiento de la misma Ciudad* (Granada: Imprenta Real, 1784).

²²⁵ As mentioned above, José Antonio PORCEL wrote: “Sabed, que después que a nuestros amables Príncipes les llevó el Cielo sucesivamente dos Infantes, con los que pensábamos segura la sucesión del Trono, les ha dado en estos días (y también a nosotros) otros dos de un solo feliz parto, un Carlos, y un Felipe, preciosísimos Gemelos, no solamente para restaurar la falta de los otros dos, que de Ángeles del Imperio, subieron a serlo del Imperio, sino también para traernos la deseada Paz, después de una porfiada guerra, en que ha ardido la España en uno, y otro continente”, see *ibid.*, ff. 1-2. [dlaczego ff? To jest druk, nie ma numerowanych stron?]

Viera y Clavijo (1731 – 1813) spreads the word by his sonnet dedicated to *Al felicísimo nacimiento de los dos Serenísimos Infantes Gemelos, que ha dado a luz la Princesa*. With the using the repetition as literary means (resource), the author emphasizes the twin pregnancies that eased the sorrow of the previous decease of the other two children. Also, he specified that this event brought happiness to both the humble and the well off.²²⁶

Thanks to the poems, the prayers and the sermons, we have preserved some descriptions concerning the rejoicings organized by different cities as Madrid, Seville, Murcia, Granada or Logroño.²²⁷ Unfortunately nowadays the festivities' descriptions from Valencia is not preserved.

Usually, the first King's actuation was to express his authority by ordering the cities to make their contribution to the festivities. Stability was understood as the peace with Great Britain and birth of successors ready to assume the control of the government. The society presupposed the twins would be fair rulers. A good example of such kind of visual discourse is the *Birth's allegory of the twins Infants, the children of Charles IV and María Luisa* by Manuel Salvador Carmona (1783, Madrid, National Library) (Fig. 7.3). In this image a woman that seems exhausted appears on the left. She could be identified as the Princess after giving birth. She is surrounded by three little girls that could be her daughters, alive in 1783: Carlota Joaquina, María Amalia and María Luisa Joseфина. The ladies were protected by a lying lion. Under its claws there are: a globe and a sword. In some books of emblems the lion with the attribute of globe refers to the power of the King. Meanwhile, Saavedra Fajardo described the archetype of christian prince using several emblems. The emblem XXI *Regit et corregit* (Fig. 7.4) explains the application of sovereign justice to correct negative behavior, that is illustrated by the sword. It symbolizes the virtues of equality and straightness.²²⁸

²²⁶ The poem written by José DE VIERA Y CLAVIJO says: “Dos veces, justo y compasivo el cielo, / nos da un Infante, que consuela a España; / Y otras dos veces la mortal guadaña / por orden suya nos le quita al vuelo. / Dos veces a sus padres y a su abuelo / el gozo inunda, y dos el llanto baña: / Dos veces el palacio y la cabaña / pasan de la alegría al desconsuelo. / En esta alternativa, malos jueces / culpábamos al cielo, y la fortuna; / Mas ved aquí, que atento a nuestras preces, / con dos Infantes colma la Real Cuna; / Y los que otorga y quita de dos veces, / liberal nos los vuelve sola de una” in VIERA Y CLAVIJO, op. cit.

²²⁷ Some explanations about these festivals include: Bernardo V. LOBÓN, Pantaleón AZNAR, Pascual LÓPEZ, *Elogio poético en alabanza del nacimiento, y feliz entrada en la corte de Madrid de los dos infantes gemelos Carlos y Felipe de Borbón* (Madrid: Oficina de Pantaleón Aznar, 1783); Matías MORENO, *Festivas demostraciones con que la M. N. muy leal ciudad de Logroño manifestó su júbilo, por el feliz nacimiento de los dos señores infantes gemelos, y conclusión de la paz, en los días veinte y tres, veinte y cuatro y veinte y cinco de noviembre de este presente año por un apasionado vecino, y muy obsequioso servidor suyo* (Logroño: Imprenta de Matías Moreno, 1783); Gaspar ZAVALA Y ZAMORA, Joaquín IBARRA, *Descripción de las plausibles fiestas, que al feliz nacimiento de los serenísimos infantes gemelos celebró la muy noble y leal villa de Madrid los días 13, 14, 15 de julio de 1784* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra impresor de cámara de S.M., 1784).

²²⁸ Saavedra specifically explained: “como lo dio a entender Trajano, cuando dándosela desnuda al prefecto pretorio, le dijo: ‘Toma esta espada y úsala en mi favor, si gobierno justamente, y si no, contra mí.’ Los dos cortes de ella son iguales al rico y al pobre”. See Diego SAAVEDRA FAJARDO, *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano, representada en cien empresas*. (Valencia: Francisco Ciprés, 1675), p. 126.

Behind the main scene we can see another woman holding an oval shield with the emblem of Charles V, where the Pillars of Hercules appear bearing the motto *Plus ultra*. Next to it, we can read a Latin inscription concerning one verse from the Book of Isaiah. It refers to the kingdom of David: “Justice shall be the band around his waist, and faithfulness a belt upon his hips” (Is. 11, 5). Let us keep in mind that Christ was considered a descendant of King David. In addition, he was a representation of the God in the Earth, so he could deliver justice. Indeed, the monarchy used Biblical verses to be authorised to do the same. The allegory of fame announces the birth of the infants through one expression extracted from Aeneid: “Geminam partu dabit ilia protem” (Ae. 1, v. 27, 8). Above the allegory appears the scale with the Latin sentence: «Hoc erit nobis signum» (I Kings 14: 10). It means this shall be the sign.²²⁹ The scales also were the symbol of libra, the zodiacal sign of the infants. The use of this metaphor aims to show the ability and the duty of the twins to be fair monarchs in the future.

VALENCIA CELEBRATES THE DELIGHTS OF THE MONARCHY IN 1784

After the dissemination of the royal charter, the mayor, appointed by the king, was Juan Pablo de Salvador Asprer. He ordered all bailiffs to convene a meeting on 21st of November 1783, at nine o’clock sharp. Once there, all representatives of guilds received the royal charter instructions²³⁰. At the beginning the city had planned to celebrate the festivities in December, together with the celebration of the Immaculate Conception. Unfortunately, during that month it rained very hard and the local government decided to postpone the date of the festivals to May. Therefore on the 9th of March 1784 the representatives participated in the next meeting to establish the final dates of the celebrations for the 9th, the 10th and the 11th of May. On the first day a procession in honour of the saint patron of Valencia the Virgin of Desamparados was celebrated. The itinerary recreated on that day included the same route as during the procession to commemorate the centenary of the transfer of the statue of Virgin to the new basilica²³¹. Consequently, the starting point was the cathedral. The procession continued further to the streets of Caballeros, Tosal, and Bolsería, it crossed the squares of Market and Merced. Next it went to the streets of Porchet, St. Francisco and Barcas. Then, it passed the Convent of St. Catherine of Siena, the square of St. Dominique, the Mar, and Campaneros streets. Finally, the procession arrived again to the square of Miguelete and to the cathedral. When the itinerary finished, the statue of the Virgin of Desamparados returned to the basilica. The historical documentation confirmed that on 15th of April there was a discussion between the cathedral chapter and the local government about

²²⁹ At present, the text is located in the first book of Samuel, 14:10.

²³⁰ We can find the documentation in the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Valencia (AHMV), file 3, year 1784, first section, subsection I, type I, subtype I, number 1. Specifically, the document was signed on 20th of November, 1783, by means of it the local government provided the royal charter’s message to some guilds such as innkeepers, hairdressers, booksellers, spice traders or bell ringers, among others.

²³¹ About the Valencian festivals see Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, *La fiesta barroca: El Reino de Valencia (1599 – 1802)* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2010). María Pilar MONTEAGUDO ROBLEDÓ, *La Monarquía ideal. Imágenes de la realeza en la Valencia moderna* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1995); eadem, *El espectáculo del poder. Fiestas reales en la Valencia moderna* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1995).

which was the best route for the procession. In fact, the government had preferred to start the itinerary from the Caballeros Street, and the cathedral chapter was in favour of the opposite way. Finally, the route recommended by the chapter was chosen. In addition, the guilds could display their decorated charters during the procession and also they got permission to exhibit them during the rest of the public feast. The involvement of all associations was deep and diverse, and depended on the purchasing power of each one. The guild of the basket makers or the wool weavers had not had enough economic resources and they declined the invitation to participate in the festivals (Fig. 7.5).

The guilds could also organise charity activities. Normally, they were engaged in charity activities aimed at orphans, widows, and poor people from the respective guild, or at prisoners. For example, the guild of silversmiths set aside 150 *pesos* to help poor masters, their widows, and orphaned daughters. The guild of merchants gave 40 pounds to five poor orphans and daughters of former members, which served them to pay their wedding or vow costs, whether it meant taking vows upon entering a religious order or matrimony. The association of the wax workers and the confectioners permanently paid ten pounds annually to help the poor masters. Equally, the guild of printers, the guild of traders of books and the guild of musicians agreed together to distribute two reals and half of *vellon* in foodstuffs between detainees from the jails of Serranos, la Galera, and St. Narciso. They donated two beds, two wool mattresses, two bed sheets, one pillow and one bedspread to prisoners. The guild of hairdressers collected 1.275 reals of *vellon* to pay the meals during three days to all detainees in the city.

Generally, the groups that appeared in the procession were holding a ceremonial candle, the standard, and statues of patron saints on the processional float. For example, the guild of tailors took a tabernacle of St. Vincent Martyr, the hatters appeared with the representation of St James and the millers took the statue of María Santísima la Morenita.

Studying the historical documentation, we could find detailed descriptions of the spectacles and the ephemeral architecture ordered by the wealthy guilds and institutions.²³² Of all explanations, we selected the ephemeral contributions that refer to the glories of the monarchy. On the contrary, other associations showed their activities through triumphal carriages and other public representations.²³³

Indeed, the merchants announced to the local council that they also contributed to build a triumphal arch that was displayed in the front of the Puerta Nueva street along the route of the procession. This ephemeral construction had a square base with eight handspan²³⁴ of height and twelve of width. Above the plinth there were twelve columns,

²³² María José Cuesta García de Leonardo studied the festivals and the ephemeral architecture built for twin grandchildren and for the British peace celebrated in Granada. María José CUESTA GARCÍA DE LEONARDO, *Fiesta y arquitectura efímera en la Granada del siglo XVIII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995), pp. 331-335.

²³³ For example, the blacksmiths and the locksmiths showed a triumphal chariot that comprised a forge and two masters of this guild working. The manufacturers of glass also showed how to work with glass. In addition, the guild of chocolate makers showed the production process and gave chocolate pieces to the people attending.

²³⁴ The handspan was an ancient measure of length equal to approximately twenty centimetres.

four in each side of this structure. Between them, sixteen chandeliers were hung. At the top, there was a cornice, six handspan in height. In the middle of the arch and above the impost, there were four oval panels with paintings representing: the king, the prince, the royal coat of arms and the city's coat of arms. Above there was a colonnade. Over it there was a pedestal with sixteen handspan of height and ten of width, where a ball with the statue of St Antonio de Padua, the patron saint was situated. On both sides, there were representations of the prince and the princess of Asturias offering the newborns to St Antonio. When the Virgin of Desamparados passed, a flying system descended from the triumphal arch with an angel who read aloud verses and threw flowers. At lateral arches there were representations of naval battles with several boats fighting and discharging cannon shots. Also, those paintings contained a harbour in the background. On the four corners, flags and emblems from the four nations that formed the guild: Spain, France, Malta, and Genoa were placed. The structure was fully illuminated with candles, marking especially the representations of the royal family. Right there, a group of deputies, officials, commissioners and other members of this association received the procession.²³⁵

The guild of tuna fishermen built two triumphal chariots. The first referred to the profession and it had the form of a tuna. Above, on the back of the fish was a tower, and an angel guided the chariot. After that, St. Roch passed because he was the patron saint. The second chariot alluded to the rejoicings.²³⁶ Next, children dressed as Native Americans danced to announce the arrival of the statue of the Virgin of Desamparados.²³⁷ The sculpture was a property of the guild and it had many similarities to the statue from the basilica. Right after that the four parts of the world were represented: Africa, Asia, America and Europe.

The collaboration of the guild of butchers was abundant. It built a triumphal chariot with:

*On 27th of April 1784 the association of barbers decided to build an altar with the portrait of the king. There also was a representation of the prince and the princess introducing the Infants. They also put there the pictures of Saint Cosme and Saint Damian. In addition, the altar was decorated with a garden, fountains and pyramids. In turn, the guild requested to locate the altar in: «la rinconada de la Puerta de la Puridad o en su defecto en la bocacalle que enfrenta al sagrario de dicho convento o en el pasaje que se destine por el señor corregidor».*²³⁸

²³⁵ AHMV, file 3, year 1784, first section, subsection I, type I, subtype I, number 1. Document from 8th of May, 1784.

²³⁶ The document from the 4th of May 1784 certified that: "otro carro triunfal más vistoso que representará la festividad del día pues llevará al Rey Nuestro Señor, a los Serenísimos Príncipes de Asturias, con los dos gemelos infantes; además se verán en dicho carro cuatro embajadores firmando las paces y en su centro la mar con un vistoso navío." AHMV, file 3, year 1784, first section, subsection I, type I, subtype I, number 1.

²³⁷ The representation of Native American people during the festivals was very common. The objective of this practice was to show the link between the monarchy and the nation. About the cultural fusion in the festivals it is recommendable to see Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, *La fiesta barroca: Los virreinos americanos (1560 – 1808)* (Castellón – Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universitat Jaume I – Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2012), pp. 139-152.

²³⁸ Document from 27th of April, 1784. AHMV, file 3, year 1784, first section, subsection I, type I,

As has been shown, the guilds activity was prominent. In fact, the letters sent to the local council explained the ephemeral artworks that would be made during the festivals or specified the sum of money that would be spent for purposes. Nevertheless, the Valencian Royal Academy of Fine Arts did not specify the level of participation in the festivals. It could be expected that the involvement in the rejoicings to show the loyalty to the Crown of the Academy was exemplary because Charles III was the founder of this institution.

During the ordinary meeting on 21st of April, 1784, the royal institution entrusted the counsellors Antonio Pascual and Joaquín Esteve, the second counsellor Mauro Oller and the general directors José Esteve and José Vergara with the task of planning the opportune demonstration.²³⁹ In principle, Esteve and Vergara had the responsibility of designing the ephemeral architecture. The Academy agreed to cover the principal façade with tapestries, hanging garlands, sculptures, ephemereal structures, engravings and paintings made by Valencian artists. In addition, under the canopy there were portraits of the king and the Infants.²⁴⁰ The institution paid two hundred thirty seven pounds, six *sueldos* and two *dineros* for that. We do not have pictures to document the aspect of the façade, apart from the fact that the Academy and the Fine Arts Museum preserved a portrait of one Infant. Besides, the inventories of properties from 1784 confirm the existence of the portraits of Infants that were painted for the festivals.²⁴¹ Afterwards, both artworks were located close to other portraits in the general meetings room that was decorated with the portrait of the present King.

CONCLUSIONS

The Hispanic monarchy used the festivals in all cities of the kingdom to reassert its authority and government. For that, the participation of the parishes, guilds, and

subtype I, number 1.

²³⁹ *Continuación de las Actas de la Real Academia de las Nobles Artes establecida en Valencia con el título de San Carlos y relación de los premios que distribuyó en 9 de octubre de 1786* (Valencia: en la oficina de Benito Monfort, Impresor de la Real Academia, 1787). It's about an academic year's memory, where some lists appear with the people awarded and are recorded other significant events.

²⁴⁰ The documents from the Archivo Histórico de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos in Valencia (ARASCV) certified that the façade of the academy was decorated with: "tapices y colgaduras, y pinturas de autores valencianos, como también de varias obras de escultura, arquitectura, grabado y obras de flores correspondientes a todos los ramos del instituto de esta Real Academia, acompañando al objeto principal cual es el retrato de Su Majestad y de los dos infantes gemelos, sus nietos, bajo dosel." It's necessary to see *Libro de Acuerdos de Juntas Particulares. Años 1765-1786*. Also the certificate prepared by the secretary Tomás Bayarri for the particular meeting of 21st of May, 1784, is particularly interesting which provided the descriptions and the payment for artwork after the festivals, ARASCV, sign. 16.

²⁴¹ The inventories preserved in the Archivo Histórico de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos (Valencia) certify specifically that: "se trata de una representación de un niño vestido con sus mejores galas que se corresponde con uno de los "dos retratos ideales de los infantes de dos palmos y medio con marcos dorados que se hicieron para colocar en las demostraciones públicas que hizo la Academia en las funciones, obra el uno de don José Vergara y el otro de don Luis Planes" See *Inventario de la Real Academia de San Carlos hecho en el año 1788 según el estado en que se hallaron todos sus muebles y alhajas a saber*. ARASCV, sign. 156.

institutions has become essential, all of which invested large sums of money to help people in need, to celebrate liturgies and to pay for altars, arches and triumphal chariots. Most of these ephemeral artworks were adorned with the representations of the king, prince, princess, and the infants. Also scenes representing the peace treaty with the Great Britain were added as well as those commemorating other military conflicts that ended with the victory and glory of the Hispanic and Catholic Empire. That way the nation learned that the king was able to defend his territory and his religion, as well as the fact that the prince and the princess of Asturias provided heirs to the Crown. The festivals organized in Valencia were a specific example of the royal family propaganda applied to the celebration for showing glory. Definitely, September 1783 was the month of triumph because of the birth of the twin Infants.

CHAPTER VIII
FUNERAL CEREMONIES IN THE CHURCH OF THE DESCALZAS REALES DURING THE SECOND
HALF OF 16TH CENTURY

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On the 3rd of September, 1573 Joanna of Austria died within the walls of El Escorial. The youngest daughter of Emperor Charles V had developed an interesting career in two different courts: in Spain and Portugal. Something that made her gain a good reputation as a princess and later mother of the future heir to the Lusitanian Empire. After attending her duties at the Portuguese court she came back to Castile, where she became the regent of the Spanish reigns and the New World while her brother Philip II took care of his English marriage. And, finally, she was patron of poor St. Claire nuns convent in Madrid, the Descalzas Reales, to whom she linked her last will and testament.²⁴² Moreover, she desired to be buried inside a chapel in the convent's church with a portrait of herself praying which, indeed, provided an important model for her brother's mausoleum in El Escorial.²⁴³

Joanna's exequies took place at the Church of the Descalzas Reales, and their content and features are known through Juan de España's account and the administrative documents, studied by María Adelaida Allo.²⁴⁴ The documents provide an accurate description of the ceremonial and ritual, as well as all the ornaments and decorations that were displayed, while the account describes participants, materials, and cost of the exequies. With all the information in mind, this paper aims to describe a global and complete view of how rituals were developed, from the very first moment the Princess passed away.

Studies on funeral ceremonies have shown the importance of these events for studies concerning political history or visual culture. Elite funerals worked as political instruments capable of reaffirming a dynasty's control, as well as stages for the

²⁴² Antonio VILLACORTA, *La jesuita: Juana de Austria* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2005).

²⁴³ Javier ORTEGA VIDAL, "La capilla sepulcral de Doña Joanna en las Descalzas Reales. Una joya en la penumbra", *Reales Sitios* 138 (1998), pp. 40-54. Ana GARCÍA SANZ, "Nuevos datos sobre los artífices de la capilla funeraria de Juana de Austria", *Reales Sitios* 155 (2003), pp. 16-25.

²⁴⁴ María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, "Exequias de la casa de Austria en España, Italia e Hispanoamérica" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1993); Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia (ARAH), K-53, *Relación de la muerte de doña Juana de Austria y de Portugal, infanta de España y princesa de Portugal, y de cómo la trasladaron a enterrar en Madrid. Autógrafo de Juan de España* [Madrid, 1573], ff. 96v-97; ARAH, K-53, *Relación de las honras fúnebres de doña Juana, princesa de Portugal, las cuales mandó celebrar el rey Felipe II, su hermano, en la iglesia del monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, de Madrid*, ff. 101-104. Among other accounts written by the same author, Juan de España, Dalmiro de la VÁGOMA Y DÍAZ-VARELA studied them for the first time at: "Honras fúnebres regias en tiempos de Felipe II" in Dalmiro de la VÁGOMA Y DÍAZ-VARELA, Javier VARELA et al. (ed.), *El Escorial, 1563-1963* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1963), pp. 359-398; French accounts have been studied in Elisa RUIZ GARCÍA, "Aspectos representativos en el ceremonial de unas exequias reales (a. 1504-1516)", *En la España medieval* 26 (2003), pp. 263-294.

development of arts.²⁴⁵ To those effects, Joanna of Austria's funeral forms a part of an interesting research line concerning public ceremonies. The events where many subjects are unified by the exuberant coordination of a visual display, and the codified role each participant is given. Ceremonial entries, oaths of allegiance, or even royal baptisms were organized as events strictly regulated through a series of laws made within the court.²⁴⁶ Therefore, Joanna of Austria's obsequies can be analysed as a special occasion which lets us know the way those regulated events had been defined from the 16th century on, particularly in the European states ruled by the Habsburgs. In fact, she died in a moment that was key for the development of funeral ceremonies, when her brother decided to create a pantheon for the dynasty. The big mausoleum implied the difficult task of moving there the different royal bodies spread around the Spanish peninsula. The first transfer from Madrid to El Escorial started with the bodies of Prince Carlos and Queen Isabella of Valois accompanied by a complete entourage, between the 6th and the 7th of June, 1573.²⁴⁷

Three months later, in the first week of September, Joanna of Austria's body started the journey in the opposite direction, according to the instructions she had given in her last will. The author of the account of the exequies was Juan de España, a popular king-at-arms, well known at the Spanish court by his experience in organizing royal obsequies and providing their written records. The content of the different manuscripts has been preserved at the Real Academia de la Historia, where we can observe that Juan de España used his Flemish surname to sign: Jan de Spanien (Fig. 8.1).

Furthermore, those manuscripts show the leading role this Flemish king-at-arms played at every royal obsequy that took place in Madrid during the second half of the 16th century. Doing so, and until 1583, Juan de España had reported funeral ceremonies that had taken place in the main churches of Madrid, such as St. Dominic, St. Jerome the Royal or the Descalzas Reales, the preferred church for female royal obsequies.²⁴⁸ As Javier Varela explained, Juan de España began his career during Emperor Charles V's obsequies in Brussels, and, afterward, he moved to Castile, joining Philip II's entourage.²⁴⁹ This king-at-arms was, thereby, linked to the Spanish monarchy from the beginning of his career, and, by 1573, he knew the ceremonial codes well. By contrast,

²⁴⁵ Victoria SOTO CABA, *Catafalcos reales del Barroco español. Un estudio de arquitectura efímera* (Madrid: UNED, 1992); Javier Varela, *La muerte del rey. El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española (1500-1885)* (Madrid: Turner, 1990); Víctor MÍNGUEZ, Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, Juan CHIVA BELTRÁN, Pablo GONZÁLEZ TORNEL, *La fiesta barroca: La corte del rey (1555-1808)* (Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2016); Minou SCHRAVEN, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Stephen N. ORSO, *Art and death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Exequies for Philip IV* (Missouri: University Press, 1989); María Adelaida ALLO MANERO, Juan Francisco ESTEBAN LLORENTE, "El estudio de las exequias reales de la monarquía española: s. XVI, XVII y XVIII", *Artígrama* 19 (2004), pp. 39-94.

²⁴⁶ María José DEL RÍO BARREDO, *Madrid, urbs regia, la capital ceremonial de la monarquía católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000); Edward MUIR, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997).

²⁴⁷ VARELA, op. cit., p. 27.

²⁴⁸ About the manuscript's content and organization see RUIZ GARCÍA, op. cit., pp. 265-267.

²⁴⁹ VARELA, op. cit., p. 57.

it was not that frequent, within Juan de España's accounts, to find a description of the journey made by dead bodies from the place where their lives ended to the place of burial. None of the accounts signed by Juan of España, and preserved in the same bundle, have been preceded by an account of how those transfers were made. This is why the news about Joanna of Austria's death and funeral offer us a much wider view that is likely to be analysed individually.

THE JOURNEY FROM EL ESCORIAL TO THE DESCALZAS REALES.

After spending the night in Aravaca, the retinue that accompanied the Princess's body entered Madrid through the Puerta de Segovia, one of the main entrances to the city. There, a group of people were waiting to accompany the body: different religious orders, chevaliers, presidents of Councils or local people, among others, who were going to start the journey to the place of burial.²⁵⁰ All those members that joined the procession had a well-defined role according to their status and followed a pre-designed itinerary "along the new street towards the square", where they had to stop and pray for the deceased's soul.²⁵¹ It is important to underline that the corpse's exhibition took place in an open-air square. However, this part of the funeral ceremony would be transferred to the interior of the royal palace in the next century.²⁵² The corpse was covered by a black baldachin on four columns with their capitals and a pyramidal roof with the Princess's coats of arms. The description of this wooden structure is less detailed than the one provided for the obsequies' *baldaquin*, so it was probably a very simple structure. In addition, the written record by Juan de España provides clues to reconstruct the itinerary and outstanding moments of the procession. Specifically, he remarks that the procession went along "the new street towards the square" as Bailén street was then named, in front of the Royal Palace. Furthermore, the payment for the decorations was registered within the royal expense's , in the amount of more than a thousand *maravedís* were paid to the weaver Joanín Nicolay to cover with black clothes the wooden structure raised in the square.²⁵³ Therefore, before being buried, Joanna of Austria's corpse was exposed to public view outside the Royal Alcázar, where a crowd of noble men and common people could join the funeral procession that finished in the Church of the Descalzas Reales.

The Princess of Portugal had established a significant link to the Villa of Madrid thanks to her religious foundation; an institution that did not only accomplish a religious purpose, but also a social one. Nuns cared for disadvantaged people in the nearby Hospital or *Casa de la Misericordia*, so it seems logical that the funeral procession had a stop within a public or semi-public space in order to pray for the reception of Joanna's

²⁵⁰ ARAH, K-53, *Relación de la muerte*, f. 96v.

²⁵¹ Ibid., f. 97: "En esta orden llegaron en la plaza, a donde en medio della había hecho un túmulo de cuatro pilares u columnas con su chapitel de buena altura (...) y dentro sobre el túmulo había dos escabelles altos cubiertos de luto, sobre los cuales pusieron el cuerpo a descansar, y ahí dijeron sus responsos y oraciones, y acabados tornaron a caminar en la orden dicha, y llegaron a las Descalzas a las seis horas donde la enterraron aquella tarde después de dichos los oficios".

²⁵² ORSO, op. cit., p.15.

²⁵³ ALLO MANERO, op. cit., doc. 26, p. 834.

soul.²⁵⁴ Moreover, the city of Madrid was about to become increasingly important because of the different royal sites, among which the one with Princess's Patronage acquired significant relevance.²⁵⁵ Likewise, the public exhibition of the corpse, previous to its burial, was linked to a tradition observed from the beginning of the 16th century in the city of Granada to receive the royal bodies that were going to be buried at the Cathedral. For instance, in 1504 the city prepared not only a great and well organized procession to accompany queen Elisabeth's body, but also five altars in five different squares so people could pray for her soul publicly.²⁵⁶ Seventy two years after, Juan de España wrote, at a very important moment for the development of funeral ceremonies, how Madrid's court recreated an old tradition which, finally, would be held inside the palace by the so called *etiquetas*.

The king at arms' account is really precise in describing the visual display when it narrates the last part of the funerary ceremonial: the requiem mass. The author was present at the ceremony and got involved in its organization by performing different tasks according to his duties, such as choosing the right heraldic decoration. By the time Joanna of Austria's obsequies were organized, the Flemish king at arms had become a true expert in the ritual that had to be followed, because of his previous experience. In fact, only five years before, the same convent had celebrated the funeral in honour of queen Isabella of Valois who, beside Joanna of Austria, lived a significant part of her life within the walls of the Descalzas Reales. That previous ceremony is specially well known through Juan López de Hoyos's account, whose style is much more poetic and apologetic than the one used by the king-at-arms.²⁵⁷ The Flemish official was also in charge of leaving a record about all the details of the visual display, although in a much more concise and simple way than the Spanish humanist provided and, also, briefer than the one he would write later for Joanna of Austria's funeral ceremony.²⁵⁸ If we compare accounts concerning those two funerals of females, it can be easily noticed that there were not many differences between both ceremonies, due to the strictly codified etiquette. But it is still possible to recognise a significant one. In Isabella of Valois's case it is only reported that a big crowd accompanied her corpse from the Royal Alcázar to the Church of the Descalzas Reales, while the journey undertaken by the procession that moved the Princess's corpse from El Escorial to the Descalzas Reales has been accurately described.²⁵⁹

The institutions involved in both funerals were not the same ones, either, and López de Hoyo's account describes two different masses for Queen Isabella of Valois at

²⁵⁴ José Miguel MUÑOZ DE LA NAVA CHACÓN, "Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid. La Casa de Capellanes y la de Misericordia", *Anales del instituto de estudios madrileños* 51 (2011), pp. 57-99.

²⁵⁵ Magdalena SÁNCHEZ, "Where palace and convent met. The Descalzas Reales in Madrid", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 1 (2015), pp. 53-82.

²⁵⁶ VARELA, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁵⁷ Juan LÓPEZ DE HOYOS, *Historia y relación verdadera de la enfermedad, felicísimo tránsito y sumptuosas exequias fúnebres de la Serenissima Reyna de España Doña Isabel de Valoys...* (Madrid: en casa de Pierres Cosin, 1569).

²⁵⁸ ARAH, K-53, Juan de España, *Lo que se hizo y vio en las honras de la reyna doña Isabella...*, ff. 88v-89r.

²⁵⁹ LÓPEZ DE HOYOS, op. cit., pp. 26-28.

the Convent's church. The first one was commissioned by the King from 18th to 19th of October 1568, and demonstrated all the main features a heraldic funeral required. In fact, it is worth pointing out how aware Philipp II was about every detail, by reading the Juan de España's account. He reminds, specifically, that the four quarters traditionally shown on each corner of the *chappelle ardente*, had to be substituted by Spanish coats of arms, following the king's wishes.²⁶⁰ The conflicts between Spanish and French sovereigns during the 16th century explain the need to keep their heraldic signs separately, so they would not be mixed up even in a visual message. The second funeral of the French Queen took place only a few days later at the same church and it was commissioned by the city council. It introduced a significant variant of the visual message displayed: a more sophisticated vocabulary, designed by the same López de Hoyos, in order to describe Isabella of Valois's virtues.²⁶¹ In 1573, Joanna's status as a princess was probably not enough for the city council to commission a funeral ceremony, so there was only a display providing the genealogical message through the different coats of arms.

JOANNA OF AUSTRIA'S FUNERAL AT THE CHURCH OF THE DESCALZAS REALES

After describing Joanna of Austria's death, and the funeral procession that took her body to the place of burial, the king-at-arms starts a new account to make a record of what the church and *chapel ardente* looked like during the last part of the ritual. They were decorated, as it was traditionally established, for two days between the 30th of September for the vigil, and the first of October for the requiem mass. Consequently the obsequies were celebrated only three weeks after her burial: a period shorter than a month, and more usual for the greatest state funerals²⁶². Different reasons could explain this short period, such as the kind of decoration displayed or the practise of recycling some parts of it. On the one hand, the message elaborated and described by Juan de España has been entirely heraldic, there was no sophisticated vocabulary introduced, allegories or hieroglyphics, as it happened in other regions of Spain.²⁶³ On the other hand, during the second half of the 16th century the Flemish king at arms and almost the same group of workers had participated in obsequies celebrated at the same villa of Madrid. Royal administrative accounts mention Gil de Villón carpenter, Cristiano de Amberes, painter, or Joanín Nicolay, weaver, receiving money for their work concerning the different obsequies officiated in Madrid.²⁶⁴ Therefore, their permanent involvement in those events allowed them to develop a significant specialization in each task, so the preparation of the visual display in a short period of time was relatively easy

²⁶⁰ ARAH, K-53, Juan de España, *Lo que se hizo*, ff. 88v-89r.

²⁶¹ Juan LÓPEZ DE HOYOS registered both ceremonies in different chapters of his account: López de Hoyos, op. cit., pp. 29, 83.

²⁶² In his study, Stephen Orso proves that the time which passed between burial and obsequies comprised about 40 days. See ORSO, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁶³ That was the way it had been happening in Seville since 1539 and how it was developed for Joanna of Austria's mother, Empress Isabella of Portugal. See Antonio Joaquín SANTOS MÁRQUEZ, "Exequias y túmulo de la Emperatriz Isabel de Portugal en la catedral de Sevilla", *Reales Sitio* 28 (2009), pp. 28-41.

²⁶⁴ ALLO MANERO, op. cit., pp. 821-834, docs. 18, 19, 25, 26.

for them. Moreover, some of the decorative elements were hired/rented, such as the mourning clothes hired from the weaver, Joanín Nicolay, the payments to whom have also been registered.²⁶⁵ Consequently, all those details suggest that recycling practices were frequent.

Juan de España's accounts describe a squared structure with eight columns (two at each corner) that held a pyramidal rooftop covered with a large number of burning candles. A series of coats of arms occupied most of the available surface, as this kind of funeral structures had been seen in many different European regions since the Middle Age. In the case of Joanna of Austria, they were distributed through the three steps of the illuminated pyramid and held all over the structure by angels. Finally, a gilded wooden crown surmounted the top of the *chappelle*.

Woodcarving, gilded painting, or precious clothes such as silk or damask were profusely used to cover the poorness of materials, as was the case for the several couples of angels hanging from the roof and attached to each pair of columns.²⁶⁶ They were dressed in white tunics and adorned by means of gilded lace. Their aim was to represent the deceased through her own coats of arms (Fig. 8.2) as well as those of her predecessors.

One side of the *Chapelle* was dedicated to the paternal quarters and displayed the coat of arms related to Manuel I of Portugal and her wife Isabella while, on the other side, the maternal quarters contained those of Philip The Fair and Joanna of Castile.²⁶⁷ Those four quarters related to Joanna of Austria's grandparents had a replica within the decoration placed outside the structure. Four large candles and also four kings at arms were standing out, dressed in each coat of arms, following a similar distribution to the one established by the four couples of angels. Kings at arms and sergeants at arms were present during the time of the requiem mass so, by the second day of the obsequies, the heraldic message was triplicated.²⁶⁸ By doing so, angels, officials, and large candles reinforced the genealogical way of representation around Joanna of Austria's symbolic tomb.

The visual display was spread around the church interior, where black textiles, coats of arms and a large lightning kept the funeral atmosphere. Both sides of the temple, from its entrance to the main altar, were completely covered by black mourning clothes. On the second level, a line with Joanna of Austria's coats of arms was placed

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 832, doc. 25.

²⁶⁶ Juan de España details at the end of his account each pieced of honour painted by Cristiano de Amberes: "Mas ocho ángeles digo medios, vestidos de tafetán blanco y las lechuguillas y puños con argentería de oro, ceñidos con un listón encarnado pintados los rostros y manos, y el cabello dorado y las alas diversos colores" (...) Mas dos ángeles enteros digo enteros porque tienen pies y los otros no, vestidos como los otros y pintados que son para tener el escudo doble". See ARAH, K-53, Juan de España, *Relación de la muerte*, f. 100r.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., f. 99r: "Como estaban puestos las armas de los cuatro cuartos".

²⁶⁸ Ibid.: "Cuando se dijo la vigilia y otro día la misa de los difuntos se ponía a cada esquina de la tumba debajo de la capilla ardiente un rey de armas (...) con us cotas puestas encima de damasco, pintadas con las armas de cada cuarto conforme estaban los ángeles, y así mismo cuando se decían los oficios como esta dicho se ponía un macero fuera de la capilla ardiente cada uno con su maza en cada esquina". About its function within French tradition see RUIZ GARCÍA, op. cit., p. 285.

over black velvet and, finally, the third level of both sides was used to illuminate the whole interior via a series of black chandeliers that contained 120 candles.

The elements displayed and used to cover the interior of the church showed the solemnity and seriousness demanded for such an event and reminded of the organization of Isabella of Valois's obsequies, celebrated a few years before. A logical distribution, considering the fact that both ceremonies shared the same space and group of workers, but with a few differences that prove how the complexity and sumptuousness were directly proportional to the deceased's status. We have already mentioned, for instance, the change made in the traditional heraldic message ordered by Philip II, in order to avoid displaying French signs within a Spanish visual display. López de Hoyos was not an expert in heraldic or ceremonial matters, so he probably did not notice the change made by the king, but he did mention some other details that we can compare to the accurate description by Juan de España. Thereby, both points of view and both accounts, that of the humanist and that of the king at arms, complement each other. To those effects, some structural and decorative differences between both obsequies, such as the balustrade placed on the second floor of Isabella of Valois's *chapelle* or the series of paintings between the angels displayed over the black coverings at the church interior are clearly marked by López de Hoyos's account.²⁶⁹

Despite those differences in the visual display prepared for each funeral, the structure used to symbolize the deceased's tombs followed the typology established on the peninsula in the first decades of the 16th century. The terminology used to identify it lacks consistence, the same is shown by the documents. While Juan de España uses the Spanish translation of *capilla ardiente*, López de Hoyos proves his knowledge about humanities by using the concept of *castrum doloris* when he wants to identify the illuminated pyramid made for the Spanish Queen. Something worth highlighting are the different traditions, out of which the authors have built up their own knowledge, and the two artistic traditions which converge to shape state funeral structures during the 16th century. On the one hand, the traditional *chapelle ardente*, used for French funerals since the fifteenth century and, on the other hand, the Italian *castrum doloris*, that used classical language within its decoration and was applied to papal funerals in Rome. This proportioned structure is traditionally associated on the Spanish peninsula with the architect Pedro Machuca and the funerals organized in Granada for Isabella of Portugal and Maria of Portugal (Fig. 8.3 and 8.4).²⁷⁰

As the specialist Minuo Schraven has explained, the *chapelle ardente* is a funeral structure that has its origins in the Medieval France, where it was also used during the period when the papal court was in Avignon, and took the Latin term

²⁶⁹ The amount of columns described by Juan López de Hoyos is greater than the one Juan de España describes in his account of Joanna of Austria's obsequies see LÓPEZ DE HOYOS, op. cit., f. 48r; ARAH, K-53, *Lo que se hizo*, ff. 88v-89.

²⁷⁰ About the development of those structures and discussion on their authorship see VARELA, op. cit., pp. 51-52; SOTO CABA, op. cit., pp. 56-59; Miguel Ángel ZALAMA, "En torno a las exequias de la princesa doña María de Portugal en Granada y la intervención de Pedro Machuca", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* (BSAA) 62 (1996), pp. 307-316.

castrum doloris.²⁷¹ Logically, after the return of the papal court to Rome, the French structure was shaped by classical style and proportion during the Renaissance. We can appreciate the early examples by looking at the French Books of Hours such as the one with Anne of Britannia's obsequies (Fig. 8.5). Those images allow us to confirm the presence of an enlightened roof with some candles or *cruces crusetados* (as Juan de España identified them) which in the times of during Charles V became higher. The emperor Charles's Chapelle, built in St Gudule in Brussels, was for sure an inspiration for the king at arms as he was involved in its development. The same case is the career of Cristiano de Amberes, another master involved in Joanna of Austria's obsequies. As a Flemish painter, he also started his career within Philip II's court in the 1550s. In 1558 the Emperor's obsequies were organized, so the Flemish painter could have observed them very well or even could have taken them as example for his works²⁷².

As we have tried to underline, the obsequies narrated by Juan de España prove that the ceremonial rite which has its origins in the Middle Ages was kept alive during the early modern era, despite the more complex funeral rituals adopted or allegorical evolution of them. The heraldic representation was kept alive by Flemish officers brought by Philip II from the Netherlands. Officers such as Juan de España or Cristiano of Amberes helped maintaining a ritual code during the second half of the 16th century, that would not be transformed into law until the next century, appearing in the form of the *etiquetas*.

Juan of España's testimony about Joanna of Austria's obsequies is of particular interest. It is not only the most accurate of the accounts he wrote, but also the one that kept record of the funeral processions that led the royal corpses to their place of burial. The stop made in front of the royal Alcázar in order to offer exposition of the body to public view to the Princess is quite significant. Moreover, heraldic signs used to represent Joanna of Austria within the visual display are very different from the allegoric or mythical profile arranged to describe or eulogize her through other means. When it came to a heraldic funeral, it was logical to define someone's personality through that person's background, but this was not the only way to achieve it during the 16th century. In fact, that princess's dynasty, the Habsburgs, had been especially characterised by looking for mythological referents to explain its origins. The classical revival developed during the Renaissance had promoted a permanent research into Greek and Latin literature in order to associate the image of a royal person with a mythological or biblical character. Therefore, the Sevillian poet Juan de Mal Lara had already dedicated his work to Joanna of Austria (ca. 1561), comparing her to *Psyche*, which was a very different way to describe her personality from the one that had, of course, been used for other members of the dynasty. Mal Lara referred to the Princess on a literary level by using a propaganda strategy very frequent at that time and, also, very distant to the way she was represented in the funeral display at the Descalzas Reales's. Those were two very different ways of describing a royal personality, coming

²⁷¹ SCHRAVEN, op. cit., pp. 23-52.

²⁷² José Luis CANO DE GARDOQUI GARCÍA, "Cristiano de Amberes, pintor de Felipe II. Algunos datos documentales", *BSAA Arte* 77 (2011), pp. 93-94.

from distant traditions but equally present or acceptable during Renaissance state funerals.²⁷³

²⁷³ Juan DE MAL LARA, *La Psyche de I. de Mallara dirigida a la muy alta y muy poderosa señora doña Joana Ynfanta de las Españas y princesa de Portugal*, in Francisco Javier Escobar Borrego (ed.), *El mito de Psiche y Cupido en la poesía española del siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), pp. 203-218: “Fue, pues, materia convniente para presentar a V. A. la vida de una princesa que más alta se halló en el mundo, según es el alma, que los griegos llaman *Psiche* con mejor significación que la suavidad y compostura de letras.”

CHAPTER IX
THE OBSEQUIES OF THE NOBLEMAN STEFAN KRZUCKI AND HIS EXTRAORDINARY
CATAFALQUE

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Pompa funebris or an expanded Catholic funerary ceremonial is a distinctive feature of Sarmatian culture in the 17th and 18th centuries.²⁷⁴ While in Italy, France, or Spain the lavish funerals were prerogative only of blood princes and high court officials, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth they were popular even in the circle of middle-class nobility. The celebrations, lasting for several days, turned into a paratheatrical spectacle with wonderful set designs, often prepared by eminent artists.

The sumptuous funerals, bitterly criticized by Protestants, also raised the doubts of many Catholics. However, Sarmatians' attachment to the *pompa funebris* was so strong that it was usually not resigned even if the deceased expressed such a wish in his last will.²⁷⁵ There were two main reasons for this: on the one hand those responsible for organizing the funeral wanted to avoid accusations of stinginess, on the other hand a relative's funeral was a great opportunity to manifest the power of the family. It happened that two funerals were organized, first modest, *according to the will of the deceased*, then an ostentatious one.

The sources of knowledge about the Sarmatian funerals and the extremely rich scenery in which they took place include: letters, diaries, wills, sums of expenses, bills, contracts, printed reports, funeral sermons, and panegyrics.²⁷⁶ Only for some ceremonies, iconographic messages, mainly engravings and sketches, have been preserved.

The most important component of the ephemeral architecture accompanying the funeral ceremony was a catafalque, which often took the form of a monumental structure called *castrum doloris* (castle of grief), and was placed in the middle of the church, in front of the main altar. The *castrum doloris* generally consisted of a central-plan basis (usually square or octagonal one) *on the corners of which* pedestals with allegorical statues were placed, frequently personifications of the deceased's virtues, and obelisks, surrounding a stepped platform for the coffin, over which a baldachin was stretched. There were also imposing *castra doloris* in the form of a central openwork building topped with a dome, resembling a *tempietto*, richly decorated with sculptures. *From the ideological point of view*, an essential element of Polish-Lithuanian funerals was the portrait of the deceased attached at the front of the coffin, or hung above it.

²⁷⁴ Juliusz Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), pp. 44-45. The book is a comprehensive study of the Sarmatian funeral culture. See also Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe. Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

²⁷⁵ Chrościcki, op. cit., pp. 60-63.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

The three-day funeral of Stefan Krzucki, the treasurer of Kalisz, being the subject of the reflection herein, was held from 29th to 31th of March, 1745, at the Church of St. Nicolas in Lviv, belonging to the Order of the Most Holy Trinity. The report from the ceremony, by an anonymous Trinitarian pen, „Relacja publicznego żalu z pogrzebu świętej pamięci Wielmożnego Jego M[ó]sci Pana Stefana Krzuckiego...” [Report of public grief at the funeral of the late Honorable His Majesty Stefan Krzucki...], published in the same year, has not been analyzed so far.²⁷⁷ Noteworthy is the fact that, after eight years, it was quoted, as translated into Latin, in the chronicle of the Polish-Lithuanian Province of the Order, which is an isolated case in the Trinitarian historiography.²⁷⁸ What did Stefan Krzucki, or rather his brother Antoni, sword-bearer of Podlachia who financed the funeral, do to deserve this distinction? In the title of the funeral print, the Trinitarians named Antoni Krzucki their extraordinary benefactor, but religious sources do not inform what his merits were. It is known, however, that the Trinitarian monastery *extra moenia* in Lviv²⁷⁹ was supported by Adam Broniewski, the cup-bearer of Kuyavian Brest,²⁸⁰ a close relative (probably brother) of Antoni's wife, Rosalia, who contributed to the construction of the church, pledging to transfer annually 500 barrels of salt or 500 *zloty* to the Order.²⁸¹ It should be noted that in the report, among the families related to the mother of Antoni and Stefan (whose name is unknown), the House of Broniewski is mentioned, as well as the House of Sakin from which Teresa Broniewski, Adam's wife, came.²⁸²

The friars began the erection of the brick Church of St. Nicholas, having only one third of the necessary funds. Certainly, Antoni and Rozalia Krzucki, like Adam Broniewski, belonged to the benefactors who made it possible to complete the investment. In terms of generosity, neither Krzucki nor Broniewski could compete with the powerful protectors of the Order such as Wielhorski, Potocki, or Karczewski whose deaths were barely recorded by the religious chroniclers. When Stefan Krzucki was dying, the construction of the temple came to its end. This fact, as well as the insistence of Antoni Krzucki, definitely influenced the Trinitarians' decision to join the funeral ceremonies with the inauguration of their new church. The author of the report stresses

²⁷⁷ *Relacja publicznego żalu z pogrzebu świętej pamięci Wielmożnego Jego M[ó]sci Pana Stefana Krzuckiego skarbnika kaliskiego, w kościele lwowskim pod tytułem S. Mikołaja na Przedmieściu Halickim, Zakonu Trójcy Przenajświętszej od Wykupienia Niewolników (...) promulgowana od tegoż konwentu lwowskiego pod tytułem S. Mikołaja (...)* (Lwów, 1745). The book without pagination.

²⁷⁸ Marianus a S. Stanisław [SIKORSKI], *Hypomnema Ordinis Discalceatorum Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum, in inclitum Regnum Poloniae introducti (...)* (Varsaviae: Typographia S.R.M. & Reipublicae Collegii Scholarum Piarum, 1753), pp. 564-573.

²⁷⁹ The Trinitarians had two monasteries in Lviv. The first one, with the Church of the Holy Trinity, located in the heart of the city, was called *intra moenia*, while the other, with the Church of St. Nicholas, because of its location outside the city walls, was known as *extra moenia*.

²⁸⁰ Adam BONIECKI, *Herbarz polski*, part 1. *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, vol. 13 (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1909), p. 12.

²⁸¹ [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 563. A portrait of Adam Broniewski, whom the Trinitarian chronicler calls the founder and benefactor of the monastery, hung in the side aisle of the church, between two altars, see Józef BIAŁYNIA CHOŁODECKI, *Trynitarze* (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1911), pp. 60, 71.

²⁸² BONIECKI, op. cit., vol. 2 (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1900), p. 139.

that the newly completed building was deliberately opened for the funeral discussed here. Undoubtedly for this reason, in the chronicle of the Polish-Lithuanian province of the Trinitarians, in the chapter devoted to the history of the Lviv monastery *extra moenia*, after the information relating to the foundation of the brick Church of St. Nicholas, the content of the funeral print has been quoted almost in its entirety.

Relacja publicznego żalu... is the single known printed source which mentions the name of Stefan Krzucki. Adam Boniecki in his armorial only alludes Antoni Krzucki (son of Jan, grandson of Marcjan), married to Rozalia *de domo* Broniewska, and their six children. As it seems, Stefan was childless and unmarried, since the organization of the funeral was taken by his brother. The chronograms included in catafalque's decoration (described hereafter), contain the date 1744 which should be considered as the year of his death. In the epitaph ending the funeral print, information is given that Krzucki died at the age of sixty, which entails that he had been born in 1684.

The report begins with a dedication – omitted in the Trinitarian chronicle – directed to the grieving brother of the deceased, signed: “Konwent Lwowski S. Mikołaja, *Ordinis S(anctis)imae Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum*” [Lviv convent of St. Nicholas]. Then, the author talks about the brotherly love between Antoni and Stefan Krzucki and explains that funeral ceremonies were planned for three days, in order to divide the pain of the mourners, thus reducing its intensity. A description of the funeral decoration follows.

The basilica-form church is provided with a wide central nave of three bays, with an aisle on either side, and a rectangular presbytery *of two bays, flanked* by two chapels. On the occasion of the funeral, the presbytery was decorated with a pall. The ephemeral retablo of the main altar, made of planks and *painted illusionistically*, reached the vault. In its center was an image of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the nobleman. The first Christian martyr was shown on his knees with his eyes directed upwards, where against the background of the glory there was a verse from the Acts of the Apostles: “Stephanus intendens in caelum, vidit Gloriam Dei” [Stephen gazed into heaven and saw the glory of God]. The choice of the moment preceding the stoning of the saint was inspired by the hope that thanks to his intercession, Stefan Krzucki, shortly after his death, would receive the grace of communion with the God. The entablature, surrounding the nave and the presbytery, had been covered with a wide valance with emblems of death. Twelve beautifully decorated altars (“*comptissima magnificentia*”) were erected in the aisles. The interior was intensely lit by candles and lamps arranged in the altars and on the cornice of the entablature.

In the presbytery and the nave, between the arcades and over them, sixteen paintings were hung (eight on each side), showing the coats of arms of families related to the deceased, placed against the background of a shell. The coats were been alternately accompanied by condolences or lemma and epigram. The right side of the interior was reserved for the relatives of Krzucki's father, the left one – for the kin of his mother. A decoration composed of those paintings and figures of angelic puttos transformed the *arcades of the nave* into three-axis triumphal arches (“*arcus triumphales*”).

Because of insufficient space on the walls, the coats of arms of some families were placed on two tablets, surrounded by panoplies, which were held by a figure of “genius Domus perillustrium Krzucciorum” – the guardian deity of the Krzucki family, set in front of the presbytery. The statue was dressed in a toga and had a laurel wreath on its head. Above the tablets were the words: “Vis omnibus una dolendi” [Great pain for all at the same time]. On each of them, at the bottom, there was an inscription. The right one stated: “Stemma, quæ refero magni sunt tessera luctus. Tantis signari nobile funus amat” [The coats of arms that I wear are signs of great regret. The noble funeral needs to be signed with many of them], while the left one: “Quam dolor est vastus conceptus funere Krzucci. Opressit luctu stemmata cuncta simul” [How great is the pain caused by Krzucki’s death and burial. It overwhelms with grief all coats at the same time].

The strong emphasis on genealogical thread in the ideological program of funeral ceremonies was a typical phenomenon. The demonstration of kinship with many distinguished families raised the prestige of the deceased and the living members of his House.

The carrier of the ideological content, strictly referring to the person of Stefan Krzucki, was the magnificent catafalque, situated in the middle of the nave. The *Castrum doloris* received an unusual shape. It consisted of one monumental figure of a man in armor, named by the author of the funeral description “genius Martis” (God of War), between two obelisks decorated with panoplies.²⁸³ On the left arm of the giant statue rested the coffin with Krzucki’s portrait attached to the front, and in its right hand was a tablet with the inscription:

“HerCVLI s eXVVIs DIVIs tVMVLabo trophæIs” [I will bury the remains of Hercules under divine trophies].

Over the coffin, covered with crimson cloth with a golden galloon, a white eagle hovered. On its breast were: the Krzucki coat of arms, Axe, and the inscription:

“InVoLo CVI VIXI par, tVMVLanDa Viro” [I am flying away, who lived equal, I will be buried in the man].

Both inscriptions are chronograms, containing the date 1744, undoubtedly the year of Krzucki’s death. The white eagle, as the author of the report assures, symbolized the orphaned Homeland – the Polish Kingdom.

²⁸³ *Relacja publicznego żalu*, op. cit.: “Katafalk był *in meditullio* kościoła osobliwszy, bo tylko jedna osoba *in genio* Marsa w armaturę zwyczajną między dwoma piramidami *in forma trophæorum* z rzetelnych zbroi, szyszaków, pancerzy, chorągwi, strzelb, proporców, kotłów, & *id generis militaris*, ozdobiona, na której lewym barku leżała trumna karmazynowym suknem obita z galonem złotym, *continens* ciało ś. p. JMci pana Krzuckiego s[karbnika] k[oronnego] z portretem *in facie* tegoż W. JMci: w prawej zaś ręce też osoba Marsa trzymała *chronosticon* na tabulacie w koło uzbrojonej”. [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 565: “Feretrum *in meditullio Ecclesiae* fuit singulare; quoniam unius non nisi Genius Martis armatura consueta intra duas Pyramides *in forma Trophæorum* ex veris, variisque insignibus militaribus composita adornatus fuit. In cuius sinistro humero reposita cernebatur urna, coccino aureisque fimbriis obducta, *continens* corpus p. m. Perillustis M. D. Krzuccii cum effigie ejusdem *in facie*. Dextra autem manu idem Genius Martis tenebat *chronosticon* in tabula undique armis cincta”.

From the day preceding the funeral to its end, bells were ringing in all the churches in Lviv.²⁸⁴ Prayers and holy masses at the side altars were held for all three days. The friars from all monasteries in Lviv visited the Trinitarian church to pray for the soul of the deceased. Moreover, a handout was distributed.

The first day, the ceremony began at five o'clock in the morning and lasted eight hours. After a solemn High Mass with mourning songs, celebrated by Fr Woliński, the parish priest of Buczacz, a nephew of Stefan Krzucki, the body was removed to the crypt situated at the entrance to the temple.²⁸⁵ This part of the ceremony had an unusual course. Namely, the "genius Martis", on whose arm the coffin rested, seized it with both hands and with a dignified step he walked the distance of thirty steps separating him from the crypt. There, he gave the coffin to the mourners to lay it to the tomb.²⁸⁶

On the second day, the mourning prayers were celebrated at the new catafalque: on the three-step platform, covered with crimson cloth, two sculptural personifications of death, in armor ("sago militari"), held a shield with the coat of arms - Axe. The treasurer's portrait, placed on their shoulders, was additionally supported by angels "floating" in the air. The chronogram on the portrait – "Morte CaDet nVLLVs qVI VIXerIt Integer aXI" [He has not died, he who will live in the heavens], contained the year 1745, the date of the funeral. On the third day, the figures standing on the platform were replaced with a coffin in crimson color, over which angels were carrying a shield with the Axe coat of arms and the inscription: "Omnes in astra labores" [All hardships in heaven].

The last act of the ceremony was a solemn High Mass with procession, celebrated by Krzucki's nephew, Fr Woliński. The funeral print ends with an epitaph,

²⁸⁴ It can be assumed that on the eve of the funeral – in accordance with common practice – the coffin with the body of Stefan Krzucki was introduced in the procession to the church, See Bogdan ROK, *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej czasów baroku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1991), p. 177.

²⁸⁵ The brick Church of St. Nicolas had to be built on the same site as the original wooden one, founded in 1693-1695 by Mikołaj Strzałkowski and his wife Zofia *de domo* Michałowska, considering that – according to the religious chronicler – in both buildings the crypt, in which the founders were buried, was at the entrance, see Mirosława SOBCZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, *Architektura trynitarzy na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2017), pp. 73, 231.

²⁸⁶ *Relacja publicznego żalu...*, op. cit.: "Po kondukcie, gdy *Salve* grać na chórze zaczęto, geniusz Marsa, który w trumnie ciało ś. p. wielmożnego jego mości pana skarbnika *in situ feretri* dźwigał, *mysterio artis admirando* sam obiema rękami za trumnę uchwyciwszy, na trzydzieści kroków *in rectilinio* kościoła zwolna, *distincto passu*, szedł aż przed grób fundatorki *immediate* do drzwi kościelnych, gdzie stanąwszy, *in admiratione spectantium*, ręce opuścił, niby *sacras exuvias* z trumną *tumulo* oddając. Zdjęto trumnę *cum piis pignoribus et in sepulchro* wielmożnych fundatorów złożono, żeby, jako był *os ex ossibus illorum*, tak z nimi, *mutua quietate*, szczęśliwie spoczywał". [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 571: "Dum vero ultimate post hunc in choro *Salve* lugubri voce musici, canere cæperunt, Genius præfatus Martis, qui in urna corpus p. m. Perillustri M. D. Thesaurarii *in situ feretri* gestabat, *mysterio artis admirando*, (cujus inventor fuit Pater Casimirus a Corde JESUS, nostræ Religionis Sacerdos Professus, ad affabres res industriosissimus) ipse ambabus manibus urnam arripiens, ad triginta passus in rectilinio Ecclesiæ paulatim *distincto pasu* procedebat usque ad sepulchrum Perillustrium Fundatorum, *immediate ante fores Ecclesiæ* patens, ubi dum fixit gressum, cum *admiratione spectantium* manus demisit, quasi *sacras exuvias tumulo* patenti reddendo".

written – according to the custom – in blank verse, containing general information about the deceased.

Sumptuous funerals were aimed not only at exalting the deceased, but also at manifesting the affluence as well as a social and material status of his family. The ephemeral decoration was supplemented with sermons and orations, presenting the virtues and achievements of the protagonist of the ceremony, describing the moment of his death and pleading to remember him. Although the homilies and speeches delivered at the Krzucki's funeral have not been preserved, the ideological contents of his catafalque, described in the analyzed report, do not leave any doubt that the nobleman was a soldier.

The obsequies of Stefan Krzucki could be considered a typical example of the Sarmatian *pompa funebris*, if it were not for the anthropomorphic, mobile catafalque, according to known sources without precedence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even throughout Europe.

At first, the description of the walking machine used during the funeral ceremony seems to be impossible to implement in the 18th century. However, the analysis of the work of Leonardo da Vinci, namely the robotic knight and mechanical lion shows that the construction of “genius Martis” was fully feasible. The renaissance humanoid robot could reproduce the basic human movements, such as sitting, moving its arms, and more.²⁸⁷ It consisted of two independent systems: three-degree-of-freedom legs, ankles, knees, and hips; four-degree-of-freedom arms with articulated shoulders, elbows, wrists, and hands. A mechanical, analog-programmable controller within the chest provided power and control for the arms. The legs were powered by an external crank arrangement driving the rope, which was connected to key locations in the ankle, knee, and hip. The knight carrying a coffin with Stefan Krzucki's body did not have to be so complicated, and the author of such a project did not have to know Leonardo's work to achieve the described effect of movement.²⁸⁸ The “genius Martis” could have been driven by means of a hidden rope, and the effect of walking could have been realized by means of appropriate gears and rods. Another possible solution would be to use a drive similar to that of the Leonardo's robot with legs powered by an external crank. It should be noted that, due to the supernatural size of the robot, the implementation of appropriate gears would not be as difficult as in the Leonardo's approach. It does not change the fact that designing “the walking knight” and its implementation in the 18th century required a lot of technical knowledge and ingenuity. It can not be ruled out, however, that in the description of Krzucki's funeral the functions of the “robot” have been exaggerated. Whatever the case, “genius Martis” outperforms the moving elements used in theatrical and occasional decorations from the early-modern period, such as figures of angels tossed on ropes, or eagles fluttering their wings.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Anne PASEK, “Renaissance Robotics: Leonardo da Vinci's Lost Knight and Enlivened Materiality”, *Shift. Graduate Journal of Visual and Material Culture* 7 (2014), pp. 4-6.

²⁸⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Marek Szczepański for consultations on the issue of the functioning of the discussed catafalque.

²⁸⁹ CHROŚCICKI, op. cit., p. 99.

The designer of the unusual catafalque was a Trinitarian, Fr Kazimierz of the Heart of Jesus Granacki (1717-1747). We owe this information to the religious chronicler who added the following words to the description of the structure: “cujus inventor fuit Pater Casimirus and Corde Jesus, nostræ Religionis Sacerdos Professus, ad affabres res industriosissimus”.²⁹⁰ The friar, who came from Lublin, from a noble family, certainly designed the entire artistic setting of the funeral. It is known from his obituary that after completing his philosophical and theological studies he began to explore the secrets of architecture, and the experience he gained in this field expressed “in splendide adornata interius Ecclesia nostra Sancti Nicolai”.²⁹¹ The phrase: “Architectus sine magistro, industriæ illius monumentum stat documentum domus Sancti Nicolai”, from *Liber vitæ et mortis* of Polish-Lithuanian province of the Order of the Holy Trinity, has a similar meaning.²⁹² Given the traditional forms of the church of St. Nicholas, it seems certain that Fr Granacki, an amateur architect, not only directed its construction, but also drew up its plans.²⁹³ Stefan Krzucki’s catafalque proves that Fr Kazimierz Granacki was distinguished by extraordinary constructive skills. His activity as an architect and constructor could not be too intense, considering the fact that he held responsible functions in the convent and died at the age of only thirty years.

Relacja publicznego żalu... is one of about five hundred funeral prints preserved from the Saxon times (1697-1763).²⁹⁴ The obsequies described in it, although in terms of splendor would not match the ceremonies organized to commemorate the death of magnates, were undoubtedly remembered by contemporaries for a long time, because of their unique artistic setting.

²⁹⁰ [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 571.

²⁹¹ ANTONINUS AB ASSUMPTIONE (ed.), *Monumenta Ordinis Excalceatorum SS. Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum ad Provincias S. Ioachimi (Poloniæ) et S. Iosephi (Austriæ-Hungariæ) spectantia* (Romæ: Typographia Pontificia in Instituto Pii IX, 1911), pp. 179-180. See also SOBCZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, op. cit., p. 148.

²⁹² ANTONINUS AB ASSUMPTIONE (ed.), op. cit., pp. 36–37, no. 182.

²⁹³ Jerzy KOWALCZYK, *Świątynie późnobarokowe na Kresach* (Warszwa: Instytut Sztuki PAN), p. 71. See also SOBCZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, op. cit., p. 148.

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Chapt er/Mo nth	III	IV	V	VI	VII	IX	XII	Total
Voyag es et messag eries	7	2	2	2	2	1	2	18
Parties	1							1

extraordinaire s								
Dons et recompensations		1				1		2
Gaiges et pensions		1						1
Ecurie			1					1
Aumones			1					1
Deniers payes en l'aquit					1			1
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Total	8	4	8	2	5	3	4	34

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