

Cities and Sovereigns:
Ceremonial Receptions of Iberia as Seen from Below,
1350-1550

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study provides a social and cultural history of relationships between cities and sovereigns of late medieval Spain, as viewed through their interactions during ceremonial receptions. It examines these events—during which monarchs were formally received by a municipal delegation into a city through a gate in the city wall—from a different perspective and using different sources than is usual. It analyzes these ceremonies in terms of civic actions of reception, rather than in terms of royal actions of entry. That is to say, this study looks at these events from the bottom-up, rather than from the top-down, as has been typical.

To arrive at this new vision, the project expands considerably the evidence being considered. First, it treats evidence from a full range of city-sovereign ceremonial interactions. Rather than adopting the narrowly defined category of analysis known as royal entries—supposedly distinguished along the lines of legal and semantic definitions—it employs the broader category of ceremonial receptions. Second, it applies under-utilized evidence from municipal archives, not only the royal-centric sources most commonly used to study such topics. Third, this project adopts a tremendously expanded chronological scope. Instead of employing a narrow timeframe involving only the ceremony itself, this study considers data from every phase of its production. That is, rather than limiting itself to three or four days, it treats the months of preparations that preceded the ceremonial reception, the day of the procession itself, and the many months or even years that it took to resolve the accounts of the entire process. Thus, this project

expands on and complements the historiography of royal entries, the more common category of analysis, by using a multi-faceted approach that highlights urban agency.

Sociologists and anthropologists have long stressed the importance of rituals and public displays.¹ Historians of classical antiquity have likewise treated the topics of ceremonies and rituals.² By far, however, the largest body of scholarship on such topics is from scholars of Early Modern/Renaissance Europe—often by art historians and scholars of literature and theater.³ With the turn of scholarship toward social and cultural topics,

¹ Some of the more influential works of sociologists include Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen Books, 1978); Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949 [1938]); Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957); and Edward Shils, ed., *Center and Periphery, Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), see especially Edwards Shils, "The Meaning of the Coronation," 135-152. Within English, the most influential works of anthropologists have been, Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, (New York: Basic Books, 1983), see especially "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," 121-146; Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967); and Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures. (Chicago: Aldine Publication Company, 1969).

² Among historians of ancient Europe, some of the most influential studies within the English and French languages, include: Claudine Auliard, *Victoires et Triomphes à Rome. Droit et Réalités sous la République* (Paris: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, 2001); Stéphane Benoist, *La Fête à Rome au Premier Siècle de l'Empire. Recherches sur l'Univers Festif sous les Règnes d'Auguste et des Julio-Claudiens*. Collection Latomus, vol. 248. (Bruxelles: Latomus. Revue d'Etudes Latines, 1999); Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Paris: Cambridge University Press and Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme, 1986).

³ The bibliography for Early Modern/Renaissance has expanded tremendously within the last decades. A few representative works include: John Adamson, ed. *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Regime, 1500-1750* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999); Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 [1969]); Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds., *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Pierre Béhar, and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, eds. *Spectaculum Evropaevm: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580-1750)* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999); David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971); Richard Jackson, *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956-1975), see especially C.A. Marsden, "Entrées et fêtes espagnoles au XVI^e siècle," vol. II, 389-411; James R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewrings, eds., *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004); Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1984).

historians too began to look at ceremonies, rituals, festivals, spectacles, and similarly related phenomena.⁴

For the medieval period, however, there were for a long time only a few lonely voices in the wind. One pioneer of such subjects, Jacques Heers, stressed that festivals and collective spectacles” provide “one of the most faithful expressions of the ‘culture’ of the times.” Heers argued that festivals and public displays offer a unique window into the culture of a society, allowing us to recapture a society’s beliefs, customs, and value systems in way that we could not otherwise. For Heers, such “manifestations have, by themselves, an irrefutable value of testimony [*témoignage*] or, at least, of signal [*signe*]. They mark the important moments in the life of the individual and of the communities and transmit certain beliefs by the repeated performance of ancestral rites, but they are also reflections of politico-religious or politico-social organizations.

Heers noted that festivals and ceremonies exhibited “extraordinary diversity” in terms of costumes and colors, which served more than an aesthetic purpose. For Heers, such variation in vestments was intended “to mark social distinction” according to hierarchies of wealth and class. In one of his more insightful observations, Heers suggested that customs involving the invitation of huge numbers of clients and paupers to festivals and celebrations were linked to traditions of sacrifice and largesse. Important bonds of loyalty and mutuality were created by the generosity and largesse that patrons showed to their clients.

⁴ In the United States, the University of Minnesota held a conference on *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson, eds. *Medieval Studies at Minnesota*, Vol. 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). The conference drew together specialists from art history, history, and literature.

Heers also described medieval festivals in terms of a social space for contestation, where competing values could vie with each other or combine. The festival of fools (*fête des fous*), along with *carnaval*, “reversed” the social order for a day and channeled the “collective resentments” of the population. However, the *fête des fous*, during which a bishop was typically taken from the cathedral and paraded in ridiculous garb while being jeered, not exclusively a rite of contestation against the bishop’s power. Heers reminded his audience that the bishops went quite willingly. Moreover, the celebration was part of the religious order, meant to show the “precariousness of the human condition and fragility of social position.” In short, the *fête des fous* grew out of the moral messages conveyed in Christian mystery plays. Certain values conveyed in the Mystery plays, exemplified by the cry “He has put down the powerful from their seat, and lifted up the humble,” were easily given new expression in the *fête des fous*.⁵

The scholarship on the ceremonies of Early Modern Europe in general, and royal entries in particular, has burgeoned into a sizable field of study, as more and more scholars have come to see their importance to political culture and urban history. The treatment has not been even, however. Often conspicuously absent from Anglophone and francophone scholarship on ritual and ceremonies are discussions of the case of Iberia.⁶

⁵ “Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles,” almost certainly a reference to Luke 2. Jacques Heers, *Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d’Occident à la fin du Moyen-Âge*. Conférences Albert-le-Grand, 1971. (Paris: Institut d’Études Médiévales, Montréal, 1982), 9, 13, 16, 119, 122, 146.

⁶ The situation is quite different within Spanish scholarship itself. The treatment of royal entries for the Early Modern period has seen a veritable explosion within the last decades, much of it coming from art history. To mention but a few works, see: Danièle Becker, “Hado y divisa de Carlos Segundo y de María Luisa en la Real entrada de la Reina y fiestas de 1680,” in *Teoría semiótica: Lenguajes y textos hispánicos. Volumen I de las actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Semiótica e Hispanismo celebrado en Madrid en los días del 20 al 25 de junio de 1983*, ed. Miguel Ángel Garrido Gallardo (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984) 611-626; Antonio Cabeza Rodríguez, et al. “Fiesta y política en Valladolid: La entrada de Felipe III en el año 1600,” *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea* 16 (1996): 77-88; Inocencio Cadiñanos Bardeci, “Pompeyo Leoni y los arcos de la entrada triunfal de Doña Ana de Austria,” *Academia. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*

This is despite the fact that public spectacles and ceremonies of the Iberian kingdoms (be it Portugal, Castile, or the Crown of Aragon) were founded upon many of the same ideological precepts—from art, liturgy, and popular expectations—as those from other European polities. In fact, the sources make it clear that the Iberian kingdoms had strong ties with the rest of Europe, not only importing but also exporting ceremonial ideals and

86 (1998): 177-191; María Teresa Chaves Montoya, “La entrada de Ana de Austria en Madrid (1570) según la relación de López de Hoyos: Fuentes iconográficas,” *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 36 (1989): 91-106; Cristina de la Cuesta Marina, “Festejos reales con motivo de la entrada de Alfonso XII en Madrid,” *Madrid: Revista de arte, geografía e historia* 3 (2000): 355-384; José María Díez Borque, ed. *Teatro y fiesta en el Barroco. España e Iberoamérica* (Seville: Ediciones del Serbal, Seminario de la Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1985); Carlota Fernández Travieso, “La cultura emblemática en la entrada en Toledo de Isabel de Valois de 1560,” in *Edad de oro cantabrigense. Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas del Siglo de Oro*, eds. Anthony J. Close and Sandra María Fernández Vales (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 245-254; Cristóbal Marín Tovar, “La jubilosa entrada de Margarita de Austria en Madrid,” *Anales de historia del arte* 9 (1999): 147-157; Jesús Francesc Massip, *La monarquía en escena. Teatro, fiesta y espectáculo del poder en los reinos ibéricos: de Jaume El Conquistador al príncipe Carlos* (Madrid: Dirección General de Promoción Cultural, 2003); María Pilar Monteagudo Robledo, “Fiestas reales en la Valencia moderna: El espectáculo del poder de una monarquía ideal,” *Estudis. Revista de historia moderna* 20, special issue on En torno al XVII Hispánico (1994): 323-327; Emilio Morais Vallejo, “Puerta Castillo: Una entrada emblemática para la ciudad de León,” *De Arte. Revista de Historia del Arte* 3 (2004): 143-164; Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, “La entrada en Madrid de la reina Isabel de Valois en 1560,” *Torre de los Lujanes: Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* 35 (1998): 141-166; María Ángeles Pérez Samper, “El Rey y la ciudad: La entrada real de Carlos I en Barcelona,” *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 6 (1988): 439-448; Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez, “La entrada triunfal y la ciudad en los siglos XVI y XVII,” *Espacio, tiempo y forma: Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, serie VII, Historia del arte 4 (1991): 121-134; Federico Revilla, “Las advertencias políticas de Barcelona a Felipe V en las decoraciones efímeras de su entrada triunfal,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 49 (1983): 397-408; Alberto del Río, *Teatro y entrada triunfal en la Zaragoza del Renacimiento. Estudio de la “Representación del martirio de Santa Engracia” de Fernando Basurto en su marco festivo* (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento, 1988); María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia. La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2000); María Jesús Sánchez Beltrán, “La entrada triunfal en Madrid de doña Margarita de Austria (24 de octubre de 1599),” *Archivo Español de Arte* 61, no. 244 (1988): 385-404; María Jesús Sanz Serrano, “Arquitecturas efímeras levantadas en Sevilla para la entrada de Carlos V: Relaciones con otras entradas reales del siglo XVI en la ciudad.” In *El arte en las Cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II. 9 Jornadas de Arte, Madrid, 24-27 de noviembre de 1998* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999), 181-187; Virginia Tovar Martín, *El barroco efímero y la fiesta popular. La entrada triunfal en el Madrid del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1985); Triadó Tur, Joan-Ramón. “Fiestas reales en la Cataluña de Carlos III.” *Pedralbes. Revista d’historia moderna* 8, no. 2, special issue on Catalunya a l’Època de Carles III (1988): 561-576; María 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 *España festejante. El siglo XVIII*, ed. Margarita Torrione (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de Diputación de Málaga, 2000), 405-422; María Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, “La Entrada de la reina María Ana de Neoburgo en Madrid (1690): Una decoración efímera de Palomino y de Ruiz de la Iglesia,” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 9-10 (1997-1998): 257-276; María 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 a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2000).

practices. Thus, to understand fully the relationship between ceremonial and political practice in Europe as a whole, the case of the Iberian kingdoms must be included within the greater discussions. This is not only because of their inherent utility as a comparative perspective, but because Iberian ceremonies were observed by European contemporaries and had a direct impact on larger developments.

Although Iberian ceremonial forms had their particularities and embodied different mentalities, they should held in lower esteem or be regarded as only superficially analogous to those found elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, they exhibited many of the same core elements. For instance, as seen elsewhere in Europe, the major cities in the Iberian kingdoms periodically offered a formal reception of their monarch. A key element of this perception of the monarch and his or her entourage was the presence of a municipal delegation. The ceremonial reception usually occurred outside the city walls, often at a specified distance. In Bruges, this “carefully staged theatrical episode” was conducted by the “traditional *blijde inkomst*, a delegation of citizens [who] emerged from the Cruysporte, formally welcomed [the sovereign], and escorted him into the city.”⁷ In Spain, while the magisterial posts were a bit different, similar municipal delegations went out to greet the monarchs and offer *conducho* to them and their party, that is, a formal escort.

Another key element was a ceremonial exchange of oaths between subjects and sovereign, occurring most often before entering the city gate. In the Iberian kingdoms, as elsewhere, the sovereign gave an oath to uphold the city’s time-honored privileges, while

⁷ Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theater, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 50. Paris too had municipal delegations that would leave the city proper and go out to receive the monarch and his entourage and escort him through the city. *Ibid.*, 176.

sometimes extending new ones. Then, if the members of the delegation believed in his or her sincerity, they would swear to remain loyal to the sovereign, to uphold his or her laws and edicts, and to provide to him or her the rights and services the city had granted to the monarch's predecessors—most often certain taxes and participation in military campaigns. As seen elsewhere in Europe, common elements of Iberian ceremonial receptions included a long procession of the municipal and royal parties through the city, most often following highly traditional routes. Other similarities included the presence of live tableaux and theatrical events, musicians, ephemeral architecture and scenography, sumptuous decorations, some sort of participation by guilds and the Church.

The ceremonial receptions of the Iberian kingdoms thus shared several core elements with their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, although the differences in their forms are also instructive. Many of these particularities concern the forms of entertainment seen in Iberian ceremonial receptions, which are rather easy to identify. Others concern the more fundamental differences in legal prescriptions, traditions and customs, and what I one could call “constitutional” or institutional differences. Although subtle and more difficult to discern, these dictated the expectations and the interactions between cities and sovereigns.

The most common forms of entertainment present at Iberian ceremonial receptions were jousts and the running of bulls.⁸ In general, the jousts of Iberia seem to

⁸ A typical passage, from the chronicle of Enrique IV of Castile, reads, “and the king went to Seville along with the queen where for him many festivals, jousts, *juegos de cañas*, and running of bulls were performed, and notably [with] a tournament of a hundred knights, fifty on each side... which was an impressive thing to behold”: “el Rey se fué á Sevilla con la Reyna donde le fueron hechas muchas fiestas, justas, é juegos de cañas, correr toros, é señaladamente un torneo de cien caballeros, cincuenta de cada parte, de que fueron capitanes el Duque de Medina Sidonia é Don Juana Pacheco, Marques de Villena; que fué cosa muy señalada de ver.” Diego Enríquez del Castillo, *Crónica del Rey Don Enrique el Cuarto*, ch. 14, ed.

have been broadly comparable to those held elsewhere, although with some variation. In particular, in Iberia they coexisted with a popular game of canes (*juegos de cañas*). The practice was of Moorish origin and involved teams of riders, which would take turns chasing each other while throwing *cañas*, a type of reed cane spear.⁹ While the sport was much beloved throughout the Iberian kingdoms, foreigners seem not to have found it terribly entertaining, considering it mostly a chasing game, and therefore not as physically demanding or valiant as the heavy lance wielding jousts that were preferred elsewhere in Europe.¹⁰ Of course, these were not the goals of the *juegos de cañas*. Like the variety of modern bullfighting that is practiced while riding a horse, the goal was to show off one's superior horsemanship and the beautiful choreography that can result from the complete unison of rider and horse, each in perfect communication with the other and attuned to the information conveyed by minute changes in posture.

Another popular entertainment that accompanied nearly every ceremonial reception occurring in Iberia was the running of bulls. This sport certainly displayed one's bravery. The premise was simple: with wagons and other ad hoc structures, one cut off certain streets, creating a desired path for the bulls to run. While the bulls ran the course, usually ending at the main square, participants would run among and in front of the bulls, jeering and taunting them to catch their attention. With skill, a bit of luck, or

Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 70, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, vol. III (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1878), 108.

⁹ "il fallait 4 quadrilles (quelquefois il y en avait 6) répartis en deux groupes. Le premier poursuivait le second en jetant des canas, espèces de javelots, sur l'adversaire. Arrivé à une extrémité de la place, le premier quadrille tournait vivement et galopait vers l'autre extrémité, poursuivi par le troisième, le troisième par le quatrième, et ainsi de suite. Ce jeu continuait jusqu'à ce que les chevaliers ou les chevaux (que l'on changeait pourtant) fussent accablés de fatigue." Marsden, "Entrées et fêtes espagnoles," 394.

¹⁰ Ibid., 394. Still, *cañas* show up in Italy too, "à Naples en 1510, à Rome en 1519, lors du séjour de Charles Quint à Bologne en décembre 1529. Des Maures authentiques y jouèrent en 1543, à Naples, à l'occasion de la visite du roi de Tunisie." Ibid., 394.

maybe even a miracle, the person would get out of the path of the bull's horns just as he was about to be gored.¹¹

The running of bulls and distinctive martial sports are rather obvious differences between medieval Iberia and other parts of Europe, others stemming from the particularities of Iberian institutions, city planning, tradition, and expectations are not as readily discernable. Here the case of Castile is particularly illuminating. One of the main differences seen in this kingdom was the non-sacred nature of kingship. Whereas in France and England there developed an aura of sacredness around the kings, in Castile, kings seem not to have been viewed in such a way.¹² For instance, French and English kings were routinely anointed with holy oil, formally crowned, and believed to be able to heal the sick with a mere touch. In contrast, anointing and formal coronations were extremely rare in Castile, and there is no evidence that thaumaturgical properties were ascribed to Castilian monarchs. There were also differences arising from the institutional and constitutional make-up of the kingdom of Castile, one strand of which was the principle of representative government. In Castile, a session of the *Cortes*—a representative assembly called for by the king, to which cities sent delegations to counsel

¹¹ To my knowledge, illumination of canticle 144 of Alfonso X the Wise's *Cantigas de Santa María*, "Esta é cómo Santa María guardóu de morte un ome boo en Prazenza dun touro veera polo matar," commonly referred to "El Toro de Plasencia," is the earliest representation of the running of bulls in Spain. Like all illuminations in the book, this series of miniatures is depicting a miracle involving the Virgin Mary. Despite their religious theme, the miniatures are quite informative about public spectacles involving bulls. One can see small spears and darts hurled at the bull by the public (resembling modern "banderillas"), while the fifth panel in the sequence also shows a woman distracting the bull with her cape, which is lined in red.

¹² For the classic statement on sacred monarchy see, Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. F. E. Anderson (London, Routledge & K. Paul, 1973). For the important Spanish comparison, see, Teófilo F. Ruiz, "Unsacred monarchy: The kings of Castile in the late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 109-144 [reprint in *The City and the Realm: Burgos and Castile 1080-1492* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum reprints, Ashgate Publishing Company, 1992), ch. XIII].

the king, help with legislation, and to vote on how much money to give the king—often coincided with a ceremonial reception provided by the city hosting the assembly.

Ceremonial receptions in Iberia showed other differences as well, stemming from their unique social make-up. Unlike the rest of Europe, where the population was mostly Christian, medieval Iberia had sizable populations of Jews and Muslims living alongside Christians until the late middle ages—although they were often segregated into their own quarters or neighborhoods. In essence, kings in Iberia often ruled over three coexisting societies. Each of these took part in the ceremonial receptions, provided a delegation of representatives, gave oaths of loyalty to the monarch, and oversaw some ceremony of hospitality and good faith, usually presenting gifts or a ceremonial key. The chronicler Andrés Bernáldez tells us that, “In the... year 1481, King Fernando and Queen Isabel... went to Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia... where [their subjects] provided them many ceremonial receptions and gave them great presents and gifts, not only the city councils..., but also the knights and merchants, and Jews and Moors, their vassals.”¹³ Notice that in essence, each delegation performed a separate ceremony, wherein the monarch made a separate pact with each separate segment of society. What makes the case of Iberian kingdoms different is not the seeming redundancy, but rather the attitudes and patterns of mind that lay behind it. The subjects of Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon viewed their society, and their personal relationship to it, differently from people living in other parts of Europe, and these views became embodied in the

¹³ “En el dicho año de 1481 fueron el Rey Don Fernando é la Reina Doña Isabel con toda su córte á Aragon, Cataluña y Valencia ... donde les hicieron muy solemnes recibimientos, é dieron muy grandes presentes é dádivas, asi los Concejos de las ciudades, como los caballeros é mercaderes, é los judios, é los moros sus vasallos.” Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, ch. 46, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 70, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, vol. III (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1878), 603.

performative political microcosm of the political ceremonies. Such differences are important to recognize, and Iberian ceremonial form serve therefore as a valuable point of comparison.

Scholarship on the subject of royal ceremonies has focused on Western Europe, most notably France and England, with significant contributions as well for the areas of Flanders, Burgundy, and certain parts of Italy. Generally, these studies have used one of three approaches: diachronic, comparative, or synchronic. The diachronic approach is exemplified by Lawrence Bryant's *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, an analysis of the ceremonial receptions that occurred in the city of Paris across several centuries.¹⁴ He uses a variety of artistic sources, memoirs and recountings, and guild records to study the Parisian manifestation of ceremonial receptions. In contrast to Bryant's approach, Gordon Kipling employs a comparative and synthetic approach in his book *Enter the King*, treating ceremonial receptions across northwestern Europe, that is to say, England, northern France, and the Netherlands. Kipling's study is a significant contribution in many ways. It draws together and synthesizes a vast literature across several languages and geographic locations; it provides a rigorous reassessment of the various theoretical models previously constructed regarding ritual; and it combats the pejorative depiction of medieval ceremonial receptions as a mere hodgepodge of influences and disparate ideas. With regard to the latter, Kipling proposes that medieval royal entries, just like those of the sixteenth century onward, had a unifying theme. While the latter's theme was that of royal triumph, the medieval theme, according to Kipling, was that of Advent, in

¹⁴ Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986).

emulation of Christ's second coming (or rather, a depiction of what it would look like). Kipling also shifts the emphasis away from negotiations of power and toward the "ritual and dramatic" aspects of royal entries, an approach that has remained predominant in the field.¹⁵

Such emphasis on the performative aspect of Iberian royal displays can be seen in Lucas Marchante-Aragon recent dissertation, in which he argues two main points. First, that courtly plays were not trivialities, but rather artistic performances to be appreciated on their own terms. Second, that the "privileged participation" of elites lent them an air of providence and authority. Since elites performed alongside mythical and Biblical characters, he argues, the boundaries of time and space, secular and divine became blurred in the minds of the audience.

An important author with important contributions to the study of festivals and rituals of medieval Spain is Teófilo Ruiz. Publishing works in Spanish, French, and English, his influence has been felt more than most. Ruiz's interests in the projection of power reveal his training with Joseph Strayer. For example, in two seminal essays, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," and "Images of Power in the Seals of the Castilian Monarchy 1135- 1469," Ruiz examines the accession rituals of Castilian monarchs, finding them to rely on notions of legitimation very different from those seen elsewhere in Europe.¹⁶ In these two studies, which have stirred some controversy, Ruiz argues that, unlike the kings of England or France, "Castilian kings did not consider their office sacred," claimed no special divinity, and made no thaumaturgical

¹⁵ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 3.

¹⁶ Jose Manuel Nieto Soria has argued repeatedly against Ruiz's interpretations.

claims (that is, the ability to heal the sick with their touch).¹⁷ Moreover, Ruiz notes that after Alfonso VII, Castilian kings, with the single exception of Alfonso XI, “ceased to be anointed or [formally] crowned.”¹⁸ In fact, from 1157, until the coronation of Isabel I in 1474, unction and formal crowning ceremonies were essentially not practiced in Castile. The author argues that *in lieu* of the sacred claims and symbols common in North Western Europe, Castilian monarchs developed a different repertoire of rituals and symbols, which were much more martial in character. The customs of kingship in Castile included:

- (1) the bestowing of regal attributes to those who were not of the blood royal, (2) emphasis on the martial abilities of Castilians as compared to that of foreigners (above all, the French), (3) the role of heredity in the succession to the throne, (4) succession by election, (5) knighting, (6) royal arms, (7) raising of the standards of Castile to a traditional cry, (8) exchange of oaths between people and monarch, (9) a royal horse that could be ridden only by the king, (10) kissing of the king’s hand.¹⁹

These particularities of Castilian kingship serve as a “litmus test” for the models of ritual that have been developed from studying Northern Europe, which have been taken as paradigmatic. Ruiz’s work shows that there was a large element of contingency in how such customs developed. Specifically, he attributes the martial emphasis seen in the case of Castile to the importance of the king’s military leadership in the Reconquista. He further suggests that other influences could have derived from Islamic, Germanic, and Christian concepts of power and authority.²⁰ In a very creative study, Ruiz corroborated his textual evidence with sigilographic evidence from wax, paper plaque, and lead seals.

¹⁷ Ruiz, “Unsacred Monarchy,” 110.

¹⁸ Teófilo Ruiz, “Images of Power in the Seals of the Castilian Monarchy 1135- 1469,” in *Estudios en Homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* 4 (1986): 455-463, esp. 455.

¹⁹ Ruiz, “Unsacred Monarchy,” 116.

²⁰ Ruiz, “Unsacred Monarchy,” 129.

After analyzing the symbols used in the seals—including swords, enthroned kings, equestrian kings, lions and castles (the symbols of León and Castile)—Ruiz argues there was a “continuity of martial motifs, and the discontinuity [that is, infrequency] in the use of more sacred or regal themes.”²¹

One area where Ruiz shows the importance of martial motifs is jousting, the semiotic strategies of which Ruiz has examined in several works. In an essay on the jousts and tournaments held at Valladolid in 1428 (to honor the Infanta Doña Leonor, who was *en route* to marry Dom Duarte of Portugal), Ruiz provides a detailed analysis of the political displays between Leonor’s brothers, the Infantes Enrique and Juan of Aragon, and their cousin and mortal enemy Juan II of Castile (1419-54). The celebrations included mock battles between teams composed of Castile’s king and his knights and of the Infantes and their knights. At every turn, the symbols, gestures, and costumes of Juan II of Castile and his knights outshone those of the Infantes. Reading the events much as they were perceived by contemporaries, Ruiz concludes that these celebrations were an “alternate battlefield to resolve political conflicts.”²² More generally, he states that “the symbols and colors that were used at these events were in themselves messages as important as the celebrations themselves: these messages... play as crucial a role in the elaboration of the king’s image as other factors [that are] much better studied.”²³

²¹ Ruiz, “Images of Power,” 463.

²² Teófilo Ruiz, “Fiestas, torneos y símbolos de realeza en la Castilla del siglo XV. Las fiestas de Valladolid de 1428,” in *Realidad e imágenes del poder. España a fines de la edad media*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi [based on the conference *Genèse médiévale de l’Espagne moderne, 1370-1516*, Madrid, 1987] (Valladolid: Ambito Ediciones, S.A., 1988) 249-265, esp. 254. For a longer description of the celebrations at Valladolid in 1428, with an a detailed analysis of the colors and symbols, see Ruiz “Fiestas, torneos, y símbolos,” 252-262; “Festivités, couleurs et symboles du pouvoir en Castille au XV^e siècle: Les célébrations de mai 1428,” *Annales ESC* 3 (1991): 521-546, esp. 529-534; or more recently, Ruiz *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 121-124.

²³ Ruiz, “Fiestas, torneos, y símbolos,” 250-251.

The focus on royal image has also been prevalent among Spanish scholars, who have shown some interest in the topics of festivals and royal entries from the mid 1980s onward. Like much of the historiography in Spain, the literature can be divided into competing paradigms and schools of thought, one centered in Madrid and the other in Barcelona. The Madrid school, associated with the efforts of Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Jose Manuel Nieto Soria, and several of their students at the Universidad Complutense, has been characterized by a focus on royal dominion and the development of rigid typologies of ceremony.²⁴ Nieto Soria's important *Ceremonias de la realeza: Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* divided royal ceremonies into eight categories: ceremonies of ascension, life-stage ceremonies (what some might call rites of passage), ceremonies of cooperation, ceremonies of justice, liturgical ceremonies, funerary ceremonies, ceremonial receptions, and victory ceremonies.²⁵

Rosana de Andrés Díaz has highlighted the role of ceremonial receptions as political tools of the monarchy, following closely the approach of her mentors Ladero Quesada and Nieto Soria. Her frequently cited article on Castilian royal entries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, drawn from various Castilian chronicles, considers the

²⁴ Among their representative works, see, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Las fiestas en la cultura medieval*. Serie: Areté (Barcelona: Editorial Debate, 2004), José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1993), Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, "La ceremonia de entrada real: ¿Un modelo castellano?," in *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico: Siglos XIII-XV. [Quintas] Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval, Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 200*, (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, Servicio de Imprenta, 2006), 651-656, Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La corte de Isabel I. Ritos y ceremonias de una reina (1474-1504)* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2002), Rosana de Andrés Díaz, "Fiestas y espectáculos en las 'Relaciones Góticas del siglo XVI,'" *En la España Medieval*, 14 (1991): 328-333, Rosana de Andrés Díaz, "Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época." *En la España medieval* 4 (1984): 46-62.

²⁵ "Capítulo 1. Ceremonias de acceso al poder, Capítulo 2. Ceremonias de tránsito vital, Capítulo 3. Ceremonias de cooperación, Capítulo 4. Ceremonias de justicia, Capítulo 5. Ceremonias litúrgicas, Capítulo 6. Ceremonias funerarias, Capítulo 7. Ceremonias de recepción, Capítulo 8. Ceremonias de victoria." José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1993).

ceremonies to be “true political and military events” (*verdaderos acontecimientos políticos y militares*).²⁶ It also provides a typology of these ceremonies based on the relative power possessed by the monarch (not the city) at the time of the event. During peacetime, she posits, the ceremony would be characterized by acts of submission on the part of the city-dwellers. During times of civil war, there would be a long, hard process of negotiation, and the entry would be characterized by the confirmation of privileges on the part of the king and by resumed allegiance on the part of the citizens. At the conclusion of a war between city forces and royal forces, assuming the city were defeated, there would be a triumphal entry of the monarch meant to assert his or her authority and undermine the authority of his or her previous adversaries.²⁷ Despite the theoretical typology, Andrés Díaz’s article leaves one with the impression that the “typical” entry, as she reconstructs it, was very royally dominated.

In contrast to the Madrid school, an alternative school of thought can be seen emanating from Barcelona. Its most visible proponent has been Miguel Raufast Chico, who has advocated a focus on municipal interests. In his various articles on reception ceremonies in the Crown of Aragon, Raufast argues convincingly that cities, the urban magistrates, the guilds, and even the merchants, all shared a considerable role in shaping the form that a particular ceremonial reception took.²⁸ Instead of the royal act of entry, he

²⁶ Rosana de Andrés Díaz, “Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época,” *En la España medieval* 4 (1984): 46-62, esp. 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁸ In addition to his upcoming dissertation, see his many articles: Miguel Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona.” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36, no. 1 (2006): 295-333; “¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona.” *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130; “E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llurs entremeses e ball’: Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real.” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36,

most often argues in favor of the urban act of reception, a notion that is particularly persuasive since he points to the institutional memory regulating the affairs as resting in municipal hands.

Even more basic than the debates over whether monarch- or city-centrism is most appropriate are debates regarding the possible universality of ritual, its meaning, and social function (or lack thereof). In a very simplified manner of stating it, the Structuralist school—which takes a synchronic approach—holds that one can use semiotic theory to decode a specific system of messages (the signified), which is projected by symbols, gestures, and other means (the signifiers).²⁹ This school of thought tends to focus on the delivery of these messages and treat them as inherent to the system.

In contrast, the post-Structuralist school tends to focus on the reception of the messages. It holds that semiotic theory is flawed at the very core of its methodology, since, in its view, it is all but impossible to acquire an insider's perspective of the system to understand how it works. Consequently, any attempt to decode the forest of symbols is doomed to failure, since any attempt at interpretation constrained by modern cultural assumptions. Although the critique of assuming inherent meaning is an important one, it leaves certain phenomena unexplained.

no. 2 (2006): 651-686; "Itineraris processionals a la Barcelona baixmedieval." *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya* 29 (2006): 134-146.

²⁹ Structuralism sought to uncover universal truths underlying social phenomena. It is mostly associated with French scholarship of the mid twentieth century, including that of Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault. See Eve Tavor Bannet, *Structuralism and the Logic of Dissent: Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Lacan* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). Post-structuralism rejects the universality of external truths, focusing instead on an individual's own reading text and meaning he or she derives. Identifying practitioners of Post-structuralism is more complicated, since authors rarely self-identify with the term, and many scholars who clearly began as Structuralists would end up critiquing such approaches. See Paul Harrison, "Post-structuralist Theories," in *Approaches to Human Geography*, eds. Stuart C Aitken and Gill Valentine (London: SAGE, 2006) 122-135.

Bryant recounts an instance in which the city council of Paris (*Hôtel de Ville*) sponsored a street pageant at the gate of Saint Denis for the reception of Charles VIII (1484), much as it did for every such ceremony. During this specific occasion, it mounted scenery that bore the acronym PARIS, composed of the words Paix, Amour, Raison, Justice/Iustice, and Science.³⁰ Like acronyms in general, this would seem to hold some level of inherent meaning, even if the process of communication itself is the result of subjective attribution. Although the exact message is perhaps not made explicit, there does seem to be a certain implicit message akin to, “Paris stands for Paix, Amour, Raison, Justice, and Science.” Similarly, allegorical representations were often explicated by way of inscriptions. Thus, while post-structuralists provide a necessary critique of earlier assumptions, the sources often offer some suggestion as to what message intended to be conveyed, as these would have been relatively as clear or unclear to historical audiences as it would be to modern audiences. Uncertainty and ambiguity is a part of the communication process.

Similar epistemological debates have surrounded the social function of ritual. The Functionalist school of thought holds that one can decode or uncover the particular function of ritual (usually to reestablish harmony), while another school of thought holds that as outsiders, no one can ever fully recuperate the function of ritual. A major early proponent of the functionalist model has been Peter Brown.³¹ In his study of trials by ordeal of the late antique period, Brown proposes that they served a very real function: to preserve order within society. Within the context the Iberian Peninsula, one of the influential scholars who has focused on the social function and rationality of ritual is

³⁰ Bryant, *The King and the City*, 127.

³¹ Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Angus MacKay. In his seminal essay, “Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile,” the author examines what has been termed the “Farce of Ávila” (*Farsa de Ávila*), a ritual in which Enrique IV of Castile was deposed in effigy.³² MacKay explores the ideology of ritual by explicating the relationship between the *Farsa* and an anonymous fifteenth-century poem, the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, linking the allegorical figures in the poem to real-life figures in the political crisis that surrounded Enrique IV. In his reconstruction of the events, MacKay suggests that the participants had convened previously before the deposition to “elect” of the new monarch, since, the author argues, the logic of deposition and substitution required such a step. Kristen Sorensen Zapalac disagreed. In a response to MacKay’s article, she sought to demonstrate that the ritual contained even more internal logic that MacKay had suggested, and no such postulate of external legitimization was needed. Instead, she argued, all the elements needed to both depose Enrique IV and to acclaim his half-brother as Alfonso XII in his place during the proceedings of the deposition itself.

On a conceptual level, the debate between Zapalac and MacKay centers on the degree of logic governing the *Farsa*. The authors differ in their opinions regarding the framework within which the deponents had structured their ritual. MacKay maintains that the deponents had used language revealing the principles of election, and since none of the chronicles mentioned this as part of the proceedings, one has to assume that a previous election was held in secret. In contrast, Zapalac stresses, “even the anti-Henrican

³² Angus MacKay, “Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile,” *Past and Present* 107 (1985): 3-43.

chroniclers make no mention of any election.”³³ Working under the assumption that the chroniclers would have mentioned such an important psychological constraint, she instead maintains that the participants had specifically rejected the principles of election, and had instead “used the language of absolute monarchy.”³⁴

A similar approach, for Northern Europe, can be seen in the work of Geoffrey Koziol, who employs the concept of “ritual dramas of political order.”³⁵ Koziol argues that the Capetian kings of France, in tandem with their bishops, sought to legitimize and solidify the new dynasty by “us[ing] pageantry to communicate their vision of a society restored to peace by a new spirit of cooperation among its leaders.”³⁶ Specifically, Koziol investigates the public rituals of petition and pardon at the trial brought against Arnulf, Archbishop of Reims, after Arnulf had betrayed Hugh Capet. After examining various accounts of the trial, which were conducted secretly within the crypt of the church of Sainte-Basle of Verzy (991 A.D.), the author argues that “the trial presented a facade of unanimity and consensus.”³⁷

In contrast to such straightforward assessments, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn use a critical Cultural Studies perspective to argue that “ritual theories (especially those of Victor Turner and other symbolic anthropologists) overemphasize the achievement of ‘community’ through ritual.” They instead suggest “that ritual serves to articulate, but not necessarily to resolve, contesting ideologies and thus provides a

³³ Kristen Sorensen Zapalac, “Debate: Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile,” *Past and Present* 113 (1986): 185-196, esp. 195.

³⁴ Zapalac, “Debate: Ritual and Propaganda,” 196.

³⁵ Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

convenient site for social negotiation.”³⁸ Ashley and Sheingorn reject and reverse the models of reintegration (as exemplified by the works of Van Gennep, Turner, and Mary Douglas). They still see “eventual community harmony,” but instead of Turner’s model, where there is a reintegration of dissidents, they argue for a “resolution by expelling the incongruent element,” as seen in the *Book of Miracles of Sainte Foy*.³⁹

Even this reversed model still presupposes a synchronic social function. Philippe Buc has vociferously opposed this approach, arguing that modern scholars are treating not the rituals themselves, but rather mere descriptions of the rituals. Further, he maintains that “there can be no anthropological readings of rituals depicted in medieval texts, only anthropological readings of medieval textual practices.”⁴⁰ In particular, Buc has objected to what he sees as the blind application of modern social scientific theories and models from anthropology and ethnography by modern historians.⁴¹ He criticizes what he sees as the constant search for the restoration of social equilibrium, essentialist and universalizing explanations, and the use of a-historical perspectives.

Buc also criticizes the study of rituals in general, on the grounds that scholars can never truly recapture what happened during a particular ceremony or ritual, since the chronicles recounting them often present contradictory accounts. Buc states the problem

³⁸ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, “An Unsentimental View of Ritual in the Middle Ages or, Sainte Foy was no Snow White,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6.1 (1992): 63-85, esp. 63.

³⁹ Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 74.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴¹ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001). Buc traces the genealogy of modern social scientific theories to theological ideas from the Reformation. He is particularly against historians using Western functionalist models imported from anthropology, which he purports to be the dominant (actually, he insinuates it is the only) strain of historiography. However, one critic has pointed out that Buc’s main targets, such as anthropologist Clifford Geertz and historians who took up his methods (namely, Natalie Zemon Davis, Jacques Le Goff, Patrick Geary, Lester K. Little, and Geoffrey Koziol), actually represent “rather symbolic or cultural anthropology... in conscious revolt against functionalism.” See Gabrielle Spiegel, review of Buc, *Dangers of Ritual* in *American Historical Review* 108.1 (2003): 148–149.

bluntly when he reminds the reader that, because “sources owe their being to purpose and circumstance... the historian cannot establish a linear relationship between ritual and political order.”⁴² Beyond this statement, with which I think most scholars would agree, Buc holds an uncommon degree of skepticism. Most scholars assume at least some degree of coincidence between text, ritual, and reality.

To provide only two examples from those mentioned above, both Koziol and Bryant assume that ritual reflects political circumstance, and that the events of a ritual can be reconstructed from the text that captured it. Koziol argues in his study of ritual petition that such an approach is valid, since “all facets of subjugation, with their diplomatic, liturgical, legal, or political [aspects],” which, he argues, formed a “coherent whole and... were perceived as such by contemporaries.”⁴³ Similarly, he states that the publicity presented in rituals was not “out of touch with political reality or a static tableau depicting an ideal. It was part of political reality—the currency of power, a measure of perceptions, a test of strength.”⁴⁴ Similarly, Bryant implies a high degree of congruence between ritual and politics when he says that, “the *entrée royale* flourished when corporations, cities, and kings shared authority.”⁴⁵ The corollary to this statement is that when the corporations, cities, and kings did not share authority, the *entrée royale* did not flourish.

The scholarship of coronation ceremonies has been particularly prone to assuming a high degree of concordance between text, politics, and reality. Such occasions are more problematic than they first appear for two reasons. First, nearly every historian dates the

⁴² Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁴⁵ Bryant, *The King and the City*, 208.

beginning of a king's reign from the date of his coronation. However, Ralph Giesey points out that in the medieval context the coronation ceremony was not necessarily considered the official, or inaugural date of a king's reign.⁴⁶ In fact, many kings had their sons crowned ahead of time—that is, before their own death—as a way to secure succession. The son then participated in a second coronation ceremony after his father died and he succeeded to the throne. For Giesey, this second instance represented a “ritual confirmation” of a preexisting right to rule.⁴⁷ Second, many studies attempt to reconstruct the events of a coronation from the prescriptive *ordines*, texts which supposedly provided a script for the actions and words to occur in such a ritual. However, Elizabeth Brown warns us that “most medieval coronation *ordines* have no specific relevance to the lands where they were used or the kings at whose coronation they were intoned. Barren of references to specific kings and kingdoms, they stand outside of time and space.”⁴⁸ In short, as Ashley and Sheingorn caution, a text “filters reports of ritual activity in a manner congruent with its writers’ interests and concerns, and cannot, therefore, be taken as a transparent mirror of medieval life; it ‘constructs’ as much as it ‘reflects’ a world.”⁴⁹

Outside textual studies, art historians, too, have long argued that we can use images as a type of “text,” one that both constructs and reflects the world. In a study of

⁴⁶ Ralph Giesey, “Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials,” in *Coronations: Medieval and the Early-Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 35–45, esp. 44.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “‘Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians’ and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* new series 82, part 7, special issue (1992): 1. *Ordines* could be used out of context to such a degree, in fact, that the English Ratold Ordo (c. 980) mentioned above, first exported to France, was used during the 1311 coronation of emperor Henry VII in Milan (see p. 2, n. 5).

⁴⁹ Ashley and Sheingorn, “An Unsentimental View,” 66.

medieval images depicting ritual, Robert Scheller has proposed that such illustrations can be divided into “three broad genres of illustration: factually narrative, condensed, and emblematic images.”⁵⁰ Scheller maintains that the first category seeks to reproduce what “really” happened at a ritual, while the second category takes scenes separated in time or space and condenses them (as a type of shorthand to depict the narrative), and the third uses tropes and conventions to depict universals or ideals. Sometimes a written text interacts with images. For example, Anne Hedeman argues that the medieval copy (this is to say, an image reproduced in more than one text, within a different context) should be regarded as a special type of image with its own rules of interpretation. She provides an interesting case of an illustration employed differently in two separate contexts. In the first instance, found in the *Coronation Book* of Charles V, the image serves to commemorate the depicted Charles V and his queen. In the second instance, occurring in the *Grandes Chroniques*, it serves to “compress the time that elapsed between the moments of support in the actual ceremony” depicted.⁵¹

Of course, as noted above, Philippe Buc would not agree that one could ever truly recapture the “actual ceremony” found in a text (nor, presumably, in images). Curiously, though, he opines that text is more powerful than action. He implies that, although the actions of ritual are elusive and can never be reconstructed, the actions of an author can be. Buc asserts that the success of the Carolingian dynasty is to be explained by the fact that, “texts were produced or recycled and argued through ceremonial, one position or the

⁵⁰ Quoted in Anne Hedeman, “Copies in Context: The Coronation of Charles V in his *Grandes Chroniques de France*,” in *Coronations: Medieval and the Early-Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 72-87, esp. 72.

⁵¹ Hedeman, “Copies in Context,” 83.

other [that is, the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the new dynasty].”⁵² It is slightly odd that he would rail against those who seek to reconstruct the historical realities from a text, while attempting himself to reconstruct the authorial realities from the same text.

On a fundamental level, debates about the meaning and function of ritual rest on a particular set of controlling assumptions, including how modern authors view humanity (whether it is rational or irrational) and reality (whether rituals are real or not real, a permutation of the realist–nominalist debate). Most of the authors listed above endorse the idea that ritual, like all social events, has a purpose—that is to say, a function. The drive to uncover the function of ritual and ceremony, so maligned by Buc, rests on the rather reasonable proposition that humanity is fundamentally rational and that most people do most things for some reason. Of all the authors surveyed here, it is Koziol who makes his assumptions of rationality most discernible.

Koziol states the statement that “without understanding the language of supplication, we cannot understand the language of disputing in northern France, its harshness and its vindictiveness and its liturgical tone.”⁵³ The statement assumes that we can understand the medieval mind and implies that the language of supplication and dispute is rational enough for us to comprehend. Taking it further, Koziol maintains that “if we do not assume the importance contemporaries ascribed to those values, we cannot understand the recurrence of gestures of humility when they announced disputes and surrendered claims.” The author assumes, therefore, not only that people in the Middle Ages assigned significance to rituals of violence (a rational process of valuation), but that modern scholars should likewise make the same assumptions.

⁵² Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 260.

⁵³ Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 323.

Buc, on the other hand, does just that. As part of his critique of functionalism, he remarks that

in the manner consonant with its increasing political fragmentation, the Carolingian world produced a plurality of sources. Taken together, they let one to demonstrate the inadequacy of the functionalist approach to political ritual: it is as much the outcome of the struggle to control a ritual's interpretation as a special performance that gave it its efficacy.⁵⁴

Moreover, Buc argues that, “outside the realm of texts, brute force and such seldom mentioned factors as economic and social resources made the power of kings and princes.”⁵⁵ Here we see that Buc is unwilling to accept that rituals have a function, that is to say, that they are rational and with a purpose. In his eyes, rituals serve no function, texts serve only an ethereal function, and what actually functions is wealth and the exercise of power.

Of course, the significance one attributes to ritual is shaped not only by the rationale one attributes to society, but also by one's perception of what is real. Koziol represents the thoroughly realist view. For him, it is the act of ritual itself, when performed in front of witnesses, that takes on meaning. He sets out to “decipher the meaning of these rituals – to write their exegesis,” and to see how they relate to power structures.⁵⁶ This assumes that rituals are real enough to be deciphered. Peter Arnade is somewhat more skeptical, stating that “to see Burgundian ceremony as a mechanism for social and political solidarity would be to read its rhetoric as a transparent affection of reality, when instead it is more akin to a palimpsest.”⁵⁷ For Arnade, ritual cannot be

⁵⁴ Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁵⁶ Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 8.

⁵⁷ Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 316.

reconstructed transparently from a text. Still, although a palimpsest is faint, there remains the trace of something that really existed, which can be recovered, given the right tools.

Buc, on the other hand, is an extreme nominalist and acknowledges no true category of rituals.⁵⁸ For Buc, ritual is “like many concepts... the multilayered product of a *longue-durée* diachronic stratification. As such, it carries within itself the baggage of its very geological history.”⁵⁹ Thus, for Buc, ritual is not a real thing, but rather a mere label, or as he puts it, “a practice twentieth-century historians have identified as ritual.”⁶⁰ He compares “this dangerous word” to the term feudalism, by which he means a term that is useless, confusing, intangible, and something that we have no of grasping. That is to say, he sees ritual only as a social epi-phenomenon with no reality outside of the medieval mindset.

I would question the notion that performance and interpretation are completely disconnected. I agree Buc’s great point that we should not be quick to attribute significance to actions, but surely there is still some merit to scholarly inquiry. Rituals, after all, tend to be highly repetitive and conservative over time, suggesting that they are performed a certain way—as opposed to just any way—for some reason. It seems likely that this is done in order to elicit, or at least channel, an interpretation. The functionalist approach might need to be revised, even overhauled, but it is good to remember that it was developed to counteract an overly harsh non-functionalist view—one that assumed chaos and barbarity. It was against the paradigm of the irrational Dark Ages that historians such as Peter Brown began to look at social systems, examining their inherent

⁵⁸ Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 249.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

logic. Against long-held prejudices, Brown interpreted trial by ordeal, not as an irrational barbaric practice, but rather one that worked within a particular rational context to help regulate society.

It seems that the middle ground between accepting ritual at face value and Buc's more skeptical approach, would be a model that assumes some rationality on the part of human actions, but also allows for contingency, negotiation, and contestation. This might better fit the human experience, not only because social actions are aggregates of individual motivations and actions, but also because interpretation of social actions is likewise an aggregate response. This more nuanced approach would allow for the possibility of more than one type of reception, since some people witnessed a ceremony personally, some only had exposure to it through accounts after the fact, and still others may have had exposure to both. Peter Arnade argues for such a flexible model. He mentions a public ritual of humiliation instigated by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. After suppressing the revolt by the Flemish city of Ghent, the duke forced the city's guildsmen to kneel while he took the charters of privileges from them and tore them asunder.⁶¹ Arnade argues that the "Burgundian ceremony... provided a flexible site to appraise state and urban claims –always in flux and always complicated."⁶² Thus, Arnade sees the northern European ritual a form of social negotiation in the ritual, one that was in a constant state of contestation.

Besides considering the possibility of a negotiative model between city and sovereign, I would also advocate the use of new sources, to be combined and contrasted

⁶¹ Peter Arnade, "City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late Medieval Burgundian Netherlands," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 2 (1997): 300-318.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 301-302.

in ways that allow us to avoid some of the pitfalls presented by Buc's critiques and warnings against the "dangers of ritual." Although he is correct that the chronicles show discrepancies from one account of a ceremony to the next (not that this is unique to events of ritual and ceremony), such narratives are not the only sources from which to study ceremonies, at least for the later Middle Ages. My approach demonstrates how a multiplicity of sources from various origins can be brought to bear to study these events, in order to create a picture of medieval Iberian society livelier in color and texture than the chronicles alone would allow. Specifically, I employ the principle of evidentiary convergence. As Lawrence Stone explained (within a legal history context), "If different types of ... evidence all point to a similar trend, then the reality of that trend becomes more plausible."⁶³ It is my hope that this project will help reinvigorate the study of royal ceremonies and point to new ways to explore all the available primary evidence.

With regard to secondary literature, I have found it useful to employ the interdisciplinary of the last forty years as a point of departure, although I do so with my own idiosyncratic stride. It will therefore be convenient to establish here the methodological design, assumptions, definitions, and categories of analysis that I employ throughout the project. The first methodological question I had to decide upon was my definition of the historical phenomena that I am describing. Definitions of ritual and ceremony abound, and the differences between these can often be stark. Some historians use well-defined criteria taken from anthropology and social theories. Others take what seems to be a grab bag, impressionistic approach, placing coronations, oaths of loyalty, jousts, banquets, pageants, dances, and the like, under inconsistent rubrics of ritual, ceremony, or

⁶³ Lawrence Stone, "Interpersonal Violence in English Society 1300-1980," *Past and Present* 101 (1983): 22-33, esp. 24.

spectacle. Others still have offered cynical, even flippant, definitions, such as when Philippe Buc's contention that ritual is merely "a practice twentieth-century historians have identified as ritual."⁶⁴ As Geoffrey Koziol states, the problems of defining ritual "begin with the term itself, notoriously incapable of precise definition. Define 'ritual' narrowly to emphasize its repetitiveness or its reference to transcending values and one excludes the formalized and symbolic behavior of unique events and everyday life. Define it broadly to encompass these and one includes the trivial along with the sublime."⁶⁵

The debate that arose between Sarah Hanley and Elizabeth Brown, regarding the origins of the French *Lit de Justice*, provides a poignant example for what the stakes of the definition can entail. In her groundbreaking article in 1976, Hanley examined the *Lit de Justice*, arguing that both the term and the institutional foundation of the *Lit de Justice* began when special sessions of Parlement (a body that provided counsel to the king, and only later came to have a judicial function, when the sessions became heavily ceremonialized and institutionalized over time). She argued for radical change, proposing that the origins of the *Lit de Justice* occurred in 1529 convoked, when King François convoked certain sessions that were recorded in the Parliamentary registers.⁶⁶ Hanley specifically rejected the idea that the *Lit de Justice* was medieval in origin, and instead insisted that this was a myth propagated by the sixteenth century law clerk and recorder (*greffier*), Jean du Tillet. Because Hanley's study was based on a very narrow definition, she only included those sessions that were: 1) recorded in the registers, 2) marked as

⁶⁴ Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 2.

⁶⁵ Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 289.

⁶⁶ Sarah Hanley, "The *Lit de Justice* and the Fundamental Law," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976): 3-14.

special sessions by members of Parlement, or 3) explicitly bore the phrase “*Lit de Justice*.”

In contrast, Elizabeth Brown took a broader definition when she studied the phenomenon some twenty years later. She included all “ceremonial sessions when the king himself presided over the tribunal,” or those that were “considered to be special sessions, at least by the king.”⁶⁷ The broader definitional criteria allowed Brown to expand the analysis tremendously to include not only a greater number of legal sessions (both formal and informal), but also sessions from an earlier period. Brown’s study was thus able to provide a context for the origins of the institution, along with a model for how informal associations can become more formalized and institutionalized over time.

It was with this example in mind that I decided to error on the side of breadth. My fear was that a narrow definition would be deterministic and lead my interpretation. I began with a decision to recapture the agency of cities. The general absence of the civic voice during an event that occurred within the urban environment, as presented in most treatments, seemed very odd to me. I chose to avoid the common phrase “royal entry,” since it is doubly antithetical to my purpose. To my mind, the term itself all too often frames the terms of the debate. Its semantic associations not only stress the royal over the municipal, but also the act of entry over of the act of reception. I also chose not to use other phrases that are used occasionally, including “ceremonial entry,” “welcome ceremony,” or “civic triumph.” In the end, however, such terms seemed not to accurately describe the actions involved, or, worse still, introduce an element of anachronistic. For instance, I found over the course of my research that the classicized motif of the

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Brown, *The Lit de Justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parlement of Paris, 1300-1600* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 14.

“triumph,” so common in later centuries, actually only took hold in most parts of Europe after 1500.

In constructing my own category of analysis, I have attempted to capture the spirit of contemporary usage and (urban) ways of thinking about the event. In so doing, I have consciously avoided using the terms *ritual* and *ritualistic*, since they carry associations with magic and efforts to influence the natural order. Moreover, not a single fourteenth or fifteenth century document that I have studied used the term *rito* or *ritual* to describe the events under review. In contrast, the terms *ceremonias* and *ceremonial* occurred frequently. I settled, therefore, on the term “ceremonial receptions,” which I use as a form of shorthand to refer to those ceremonial acts during which cities received monarchs into their limits and jurisdictions. I will include any formalized behavior between cities and sovereigns, perceived to be ceremonious or otherwise entailing protocol-driven actions and gestures.⁶⁸

It is my hope that this category of analysis is narrow enough to provide some precision, but broad enough to not be overly restrictive. My use of the term “ceremonial reception” reflects an approach different from that used by most authors. The first difference is that, whereas other authors treat the procession of a monarch through the city as synonymous with a royal entry, I consider the procession to be only one element of a much larger phenomenon. To study a city’s reception of a monarch only in terms of its procession seems akin to trying to understand the modern phenomenon of Thanksgiving by analyzing only the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade. Therefore, rather than using the timeframe found in the chronicles, where the narrative begins with the

⁶⁸ If I were writing in Spanish, I would simply use the term *recibimiento* and the whole issue could be avoided.

royal person's arrival at the city gate and ends with his or her procession through the city's streets (usually to the main church or cathedral), I prefer to take a much broader perspective and extend my analysis to include pre- and post-processional events.

My use of municipal sources show a timeframe very different from that of the chronicles, one where the important actors are the inhabitants of a city, not the monarch, that is, the hosts, and not the guest of honor. For weeks before the arrival, a flurry of external and internal communications passed between a city's officials and royal agents, as well as within and between various committees and subcommittees of the municipal government. The plans, purchases, construction, sanitation, decoration, and sheer man-hours undertaken by a city's population were considerable well before the royal arrival (as the chapter on economics will describe in detail below), and it is a story that deserves telling. Moreover, the resolution of final payments for materials and services extended for several months after the procession had transpired. All of these procedural happenings can tell us far more about local power networks and relationships between city and sovereign than can the short moment of the ceremonial procession. I therefore include in my analysis all municipal actions tied to the ceremony, with special emphasis on municipally initiated decision-making activities, purchases, and purveyance of materials, and various politicized actions regarding these.

My focus on procedure and policy make me also depart from the typical distinction made most scholars concerning the legalities of royal entries. Most authors consider royal entries to be either a ritualized social contract between king and city (with the former providing protection in exchange for loyalty) or, more often, a ritualized demonstration of subjugation on the part of the city (with domination or hegemony by the

monarch implied). Thus, most authors limit themselves to only the first entry of a monarch into a city—often occurring early in the reign—because on that occasion there was usually an exchange of oaths between king and city, a process that could be interpreted as “the formal inauguration of the relationship between sovereign and people.”⁶⁹ Kipling, like most authors, does not include “progresses” or other royal processions because, while they “all involved princely personages... they did not involve formal entries into cities, and they lacked the essentially *ritual purposes* of the royal entry.”⁷⁰ Thus, most scholars draw clear distinctions between what they call a royal entry—involving an oath to a monarch, usually a king—and what they call progresses, or princely entries, which supposedly represented different legal actions. They also distinguish between the first royal entry—supposedly serving to establish the authority of the monarch in the eyes of the inhabitants of a certain city—and all subsequent ceremonial receptions of the same monarch into the city. There are several reasons why I do not use such legal strictures in my criteria.

In the first case, within Iberia, the issuance of oaths is not entirely clear. It has been assumed that cities gave oaths of loyalty to their monarchs (who probably reciprocated with oaths to uphold city rights) only during their first meeting. The model, though, becomes self-fulfilling, since scholars study only first-instance meetings and leave out all data from subsequent encounters. Similarly, they leave out all data from the receptions of princes and princesses, although these monarchs-in-the-making could well have received and given oaths, even if they were couched in conditional terms that would only take force when they ascended to the throne.

⁶⁹ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 117.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

Similarly, strictures of legal definition have led to the common distinction between “royal entries” made by the king and those seen as mere “progresses” or “princely entries,” made by the queen and other members of the royal family. Within Spanish historiography, Miguel Raufast Chico generally agrees with Rafael Narbona “that one should not confuse” (*que no hay que confundir*) first-instance royal entries, with *recibimientos* or other ceremonies,⁷¹ although, occasionally, even he refers to King Martin I’s entry as a “reçibimiento.”⁷² While many scholars are steadfast in their attempts to distinguish among these many forms of ceremonial receptions, such distinctions to my mind are not fully warranted.

The truth is that the municipal sources treat them almost indistinguishably, from the point of view of the municipal involvement and material realities, the most elaborate preparations actually coincided with the receptions of princesses—whether foreign or Castilian—and not kings. In such instances, the city council minutes are exceedingly long and show a level of concern, planning, and detail that is not characteristic of kings. Moreover, these ceremonial receptions of princesses had all the elements typical of the supposedly distinct royal entries, including the presence of a ceremonial canopy (*palio*), various forms of entertainment, and elaborate decorations. Thus, from the point of view of effort, costs, and detail, the receptions of princesses were just as important as those of kings.

Such events of course were frequently reinforcing some sort of reconciliation, often with the princess serving as a guarantor of peace after a war, through a political

⁷¹ Miguel Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona,” *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130, esp. 102.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 107, 110, 111.

marriage. From the city's point of view, the success of the peace-making efforts and the return to a peacetime economy, as well as an uncontested dynastic continuity was at stake. Princesses were also seen as future mothers to a male heir who would help assure a continued and peaceful succession of the dynasty to the next generation.⁷³

This was particularly important in Castile, since, although there existed the principle of hereditary succession, there also existed traditions of acclamation and election. There were therefore many contested successions in the late Middle Ages, with one or more pretenders contesting the throne. That is to say, who was and who was not the monarch at any one time is not as clear in the Iberian kingdoms as it might have been in England or France, and claims were not always successful or enduring. Juan II of Aragon, for instance, was received into Perpignan as king in 1473, although his realm of the Crown of Aragon would lose claims to the city a few years later to the French. Under circumstances of such potentially ephemeral political power, contingent on any number of factors, defining ceremonies in terms of their first instance seems counterproductive.

There are other reasons as well why making *de jure* distinctions do not make sense. Whereas Gordon Kipling and other scholars of Northern Europe can afford to limit themselves only to first-instance encounters, and from those, only the instances exhibiting paratheatrical performances with a clear "ritual and dramatic" purpose, such an approach would leave one with almost no data for the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁴ The source base would simply not sustain this, since Iberia lacks the sort of artistic sources (paintings, sketches and woodcuts, reliquaries and statues) and documentation regarding theatrical production that exist for Northern Europe. There are some occasional

⁷³ There was a precedent for female accession in Castile, never an uncontested course of action, however.

⁷⁴ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 3.

indications of skits (*entremeses*), dances (*danzas*), and mummers (*momos*), but usually only the brief blurbs found in narrative chronicles, not documents of municipal administration.

There is also the issue that in Castile a first-instance physical meeting between city and sovereign was not necessarily a first-instance meeting of the minds. Cities routinely sent agents to royal accession ceremonies and sessions of the *cortes* (representative assemblies) both to perform acts of homage, and to receive royal assurances—either in the form of oaths, or less formally—to uphold the city’s legal rights and privileges. In most cases, therefore, the oaths performed at a municipal ceremonial reception in the city would be a confirmation of those previous oaths. Similarly, although many smaller communities never saw their monarch, I think would go so far as to argue that the monarch was never fully initiated or accepted as sovereign in those communities.

There is also a phenomenon, frequently overlooked, which supports an analysis of ceremonies beyond those involving reigning monarchs: cities sometimes offered ceremonial receptions to rulers other than their own sovereigns. An example of this can be seen when Madrid received the King of Navarre (Jean D’Albret, 1483-1512, married to Catalina of Navarre) in late May/ early June 1500.⁷⁵ Bound by no feudo-vassalary oaths or obligations, this was clearly not a demonstration of Madrid’s subjugation to the King of Navarre through the performance of “microcosmal drama... or ‘material

⁷⁵ This entry had to occur sometime shortly after 29 May 1500, when the city hall minutes of Madrid mention *procurador* Luis Galvez in the process of preparing for the festivities (retrieving six bulls to run), but before 17 July 1500, when the minutes refer to the festivities in the past tense.

embodiment' of an ideal political order," since the monarch was not Madrid's sovereign.⁷⁶

That the event was of considerable scale is attested by the fact that the minutes of the city council refer preparations with a similar order of magnitude than would have been used for a reception of the city's own proper sovereign, the King of Castile. The minutes indicate that the city celebrated this monarch's arrival with festivities (*fiestas*), including the running of twelve bulls (among the highest number of bulls I have seen used in a festival), and, as in the case of ceremonial receptions of the King of Castile, certain officials and nobles were compelled to be present at the event.⁷⁷

Such hospitality is especially significant in light of the special protocol used by monarchs when they were ceremoniously received in dominions that were not their own. For example, when in mid September, 1415, the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund of the House of Luxemburg (1361-1437),

entered Perpignan... [where] there was a platform richly adorned with a chair covered in brocade, [where] it is customary in Aragon to place king when they newly enter their cities, [and] where they sit until they swear to uphold the traditions, customs, and laws [of their subjects]. And because the emperor was not to do this, he did not sit.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King*, 47, quoting Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 13, 104.

⁷⁷ See the minutes for 27 May, 29 May, and 17 July, *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. IV (1498-1501). Eds. Carmen Rubio Pardos, et al. (Madrid: Raycar, S.A., 1982), 201, 209.

⁷⁸ "el Emperador entró en Perpiñan, donde todas las calles estaban toldadas de paños enteros, é delante de las puertas colgados muchos paños franceses é paramentos muy ricos, é dentro de la puerta estaba un cadahalso muy ricamente aderezado con una silla cubierta de brocado, que es costumbre en Aragon de poner á los Reyes quando nuevamente entran en sus cibdades, donde estan asentados hasta que juren de guardar sus buenos usos é costumbres, é leyes. E como esto no hubiese de hacer el Emperador, no se asentó." Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del serenísimo Don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre*, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 68, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1877), Yr. 1415, Ch. XII, 365.

Moreover, as he paraded through the city, to the convent of “Saint Francis where he was to take lodging, there walked before him a knight [carrying] a sword [with] the point upward..., because he was entering a land that was not subject to him.”⁷⁹ As these statements make it clear, monarchs were careful not to perform any action that could imply their dominion over a non-subjugated population. By analogy, one would expect the inhabitants of a city to be act with the same caution and forethought.

Beyond the issues of sovereignty, though, Madrid’s reception of the King of Navarre point to the importance of terminology. The minutes describe the occasion as both a *rescibimiento* and an *entrada* (see discussion of these terms below). To cite but a few other examples that prove similarly problematic, the minutes of Valladolid detailing reception of princess Margarita of Austria into said city (1497) use the terms *venida*,⁸⁰ *reçibimiento*, and *entrada*.⁸¹ An account for the expense of seventy-five *livres* for the reception of King Fernando and Queen Germaine de Foix (his second wife) into Valencia (1507), the scribe detailed the expenses for “the festivities held by the city on account of the new arrival and entry and arrival of the mentioned queen.”⁸² Although the scribe clearly felt that these terms were on some level distinguishable (or else, he would have provided only one of them), it is also true that he felt they were convergent ideas and that it was better to provide all of them. Perhaps he felt there was security in redundancy, or, not knowing the exact reasons for the expenses, it was safest to include all three

⁷⁹ “á San Francisco donde habia de posar, levándole delante dél un Caballero la espada la punta arriba, esto porque entraba en tierra á él no subjecta.” *Crónica de Juan II*, Yr. 1415, Ch. XII, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II, 365.

⁸⁰ City hall Minutes, 15 April 1497. Fernando Pino Rebolledo, ed. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990), 80.

⁸¹ Entry for 11 April. *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸² “Festes fetes per la ciutat per la nova venguda e entrada e venguda de la dita Reyna.” Carreres Zacarés, *Fiestas celebradas en Valencia*, appendix, doc. XLIV d , 195.

justifications, since whether the queen had entered, arrived, or newly arrived, one of the three had to be the case. The sources call the 1507 ceremony in Valencia an *entrada*, which highlights the issue of contemporary usage. The romance languages of Iberia (not only Castilian, but also Portuguese and Catalan) used a variety of terms to describe such events, often with nouns that mirrored each other in concept and derivation, such as *entrada* (Portuguese)/ *entrada* (Castilian)/ *entrada* (Catalan) for entry, *recebimento*/ *reçibimiento*/ *rebuda* for reception, *vinda*/ *venida*/ *venguda* for arrival, and so on. To add to the confusion, the sources sometimes use verbal forms, for example *fue recibido*, where the passive voice adds an extra layer of ambiguity in the case of reception.

The point I am trying to make is that there is an element of uncertainty and profound ambiguity in the historical sources themselves, and to categorize the events narrowly and retroactively according to modern historiographical constructs seems unsympathetic to those who actually lived through the events. Beyond the issues of ambiguity, however, there are the issues of prevalence. The documentation that exists for these is both more copious and more meticulous than the documentation for the reception of reigning monarchs. This in itself suggests that municipal priorities were different from those of modern scholars.

With regards to the chronological span of the project, I wanted the beginning and ending dates to fill the largest gaps in the scholarship. Because so little is known of the origins and forms exhibited by early Spanish ceremonial receptions, I wanted to begin with the earliest instance of a ceremonial reception of royalty that I could find. This happened to be the entry of King Alfonso XI of Castile into Seville in 1324. For the terminal date of my study, I have chosen 1516, the year of the death of King Fernando

the Catholic. This date allows me to take full advantage of the enormous documentary expansion that occurred after the union of the future Catholic Monarchs in 1469, an event that increased the pool of data tremendously, including the often-neglected period between the death of Queen Isabel of Castile (1504) and that of Fernando the Catholic (1516). Additionally, 1516 conveniently serves as a dynastic marker, representing the end of the Trastámaran Dynasty eventual beginning of the Habsburg Dynasty, marked by the installation of King Carlos I of Spain—known shortly there after, from a continental perspective, as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. From a practical standpoint, the terminal date allows me to include the copious documentation resulting from the multiple ceremonial receptions of Princess Juana of Castile and Prince Felipe of Austria, between 1502 and 1506.

Of all the criteria, the geographical scope of the dissertation was the easiest to establish. Studies of royal ceremonies for the Iberian Peninsula have been infrequent, nor have there been systematic peninsula-wide comparisons. To help fill this gap, I chose to explore and. For practical reasons, I limited myself to the Christian kingdoms south of the Pyrenees. My division is admittedly somewhat artificial, since the counts of Barcelona routinely had claims on both sides of the Pyrenees. Still, my approach provides a broad comparison of the cases the three largest and most powerful kingdoms in medieval Iberia—Portugal to the west, Castile in the middle of the peninsula, and the Crown of Aragon to the east.

While the parameters I adopt are unconventional, perhaps even controversial, they have been necessary to accomplish the particular tasks I set out for myself. Foremost, my intention was to complicate and complement the conventional way of viewing ceremonial

receptions as vehicles and opportunities for the monarch to enhance his or her charisma via the performance of power and a public display of “propaganda.”⁸³ In contrast to this rather static view of the role of city-dwellers—one purely passive and reactive—my dissertation presents a new dynamic model in which city-dwellers and especially urban elites had agency and made informed choices that enhanced their local standing and strengthened their ties with the monarchs. By adopting the bottom-up municipal perspective, I am able to explore not only the municipal reception of the royal person, but also the reception of royal publicity, the nuances of the relationship between city and sovereign, and the self-perceived role of city-dwellers in the city-king dialogue.

To date, the sources used to study Iberia’s ceremonial receptions have been almost exclusively narrative—mainly chronicles and a few printed accounts (*relaciones*)—which have the great advantage of being readily available. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw an expansion of the production of chronicles, not only those traditionally sponsored by monarchs, but also several sponsored by high nobles, such as Álvaro de Luna and Miguel Lucas de Iranzo.⁸⁴ In both cases, such works show an interest

⁸³ Two important exceptions to this are the works by Peter Stabel and Miguel Raufast Chico. See Peter Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit? Court and City in the Burgundian Low Countries,” in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, Gunn, Steven and Antheun Janse, eds. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 101-117, and Miguel Raufast Chico’s many articles on royal entries in the Crown of Aragon: “E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llurs entremeses e ball’: Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.2 (2006): 651-686; “¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.1 (2006): 295-333; “¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona,” *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130; “Itineraris processionals a la Barcelona baixmedieval,” *Revista d’etnologia de Catalunya* 29 (2006): 134-146.

⁸⁴ For these well-known chronicles sponsored by nobles, see the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), and the *Hechos del condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (crónica del siglo XV)* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940). Evidence of manuscript circulation and general knowledge of the contents of chronicles shows up when one chronicler cites the work of a previous one, such as when one anonymous chronicler of the Catholic Monarchs remarks that the Duke of Albuquerque was used to jousting, garnering the favor of king Enrique (*privanza*), “as it must be written in the Chronicle of King Enrique”: “como el

in chronicling the achievements of their sponsors (most often military and political), so it is natural that they present a limited perspective. Thus, in royal chronicles the city-dwellers who worked for weeks to organize a ceremonial reception appear only with the arrival of the monarch, existing for a brief moment as faceless masses, and then fading away after the monarch's procession to the cathedral. In addition, because chroniclers followed certain literary and rhetorical conventions, the information they contain can be very formulaic, especially when it comes to describing the ceremonies. While chronicles can at times useful details, such as when and where a ceremonial reception occurred, the descriptions they provide are most often terse, generic, and mostly concerned with aesthetic practices.

The advent of printing facilitated the circulation of *relaciones* in the early sixteenth century. Because *relaciones* were often written by keen, direct observers of the ceremony, and because their scope keeps the ceremony at the center of the narrative, they usually provide far more details than those found in chronicles. They typically provide information on the artistic elements, dramatic and musical performances, the names and spatial layout of the persons involved, and estimates of much money was spent on the ceremonial accoutrements. Such details still exhibit a marked royal perspective, however, since—like the chronicles—they were produced almost exclusively by authors with close connections to the royal court.

duque de Alburquerque ouiese seydo en los tiempos pasados muy vsado en esto, segund en su grand priuança por la corónica del rey don Enrrique estará escrito.” *Crónica incompleta de los reyes católicos (1469-1476) según un manuscrito anónimo de la época*, ed. Julio Puyol (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1934), Título XX, 168.

In the case of Castile, the royal archives—such as the Archivo General de Simancas—are not particularly useful for studying the municipal role in ceremonial receptions, since the flurry of correspondence between city and sovereign that preceded such a ceremony seems not to have been kept. On a certain level this makes sense, because, while a city corresponded with only one monarch at a time, while the monarch in turn would have corresponded with hundreds of cities and individual communities. Simply storing the amount of paperwork that this would entail would have been a challenge. Additionally, there was no central repository in Castile until the mid-sixteenth century, and fires (such as the one in the old royal fortress [*alcazar*] of Madrid) destroyed many documents. The monarchs of Aragon, steeped in Mediterranean notarial culture, found a solution to the problem by having the royal chancery calendar all incoming and outgoing correspondence. For this reason, the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón has in its *Registres* a great many summaries of correspondence to and from various cities in the realm, several of them providing details on ceremonial receptions of royalty. Although nothing comparable exists in Castile, much of the conversation between king and city can be deduced from the royal letters that the cities kept, which often make reference to previous questions, concerns, decisions, and actions. That is to say, it is usually possible to piece together both sides of the conversation from the municipal records alone.

Another type of evidence that is unfortunately missing from Spain are the artistic sources (paintings, sketches and woodcuts, reliquaries and statues) that scholars have used to study ceremonial receptions in medieval England, France, and the Netherlands. Nor do Spanish cathedral archives seem to be very helpful. Despite the frequent presence of ecclesiastical representatives at ceremonial receptions, not to mention the frequent use

of the cathedral as the terminal point in the royal procession, there seems to be little to no documentation surviving in the ecclesiastical archives pertaining to ceremonial receptions. I found no pertinent documents whatsoever when I examined the archives of the cathedrals in Toledo and Seville, both frequent hosts of ceremonial receptions. The only promising lead I have encountered is a bibliographic article by Ismael García Rámila, in which he suggests that there are a few pages in the Archivo Catedralicio de Burgos, which lists some expenses and other details for ceremonial receptions. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to examine these.⁸⁵

Throughout this study, I refer to documents from municipal archives as “municipal sources,” although I should qualify this slightly. At first sight, it might seem easy to distinguish between municipal and royal records, defining them according to who generated or sponsored them. The problem is, however, that communication is a complicated, dynamic process and voices are often echoed from one party to the next. That is to say, the message of one party has frequently come to reside in the archival apparatus of the other. Many of the documents currently housed in municipal archives were initially drafted by royal administrators; they were often copied into the *libros de actas*, serving as veritable cartularies. Thus, intermixed with the city-council minutes proper (i.e. what was deliberated at the council’s sessions), municipal ordinances promulgated, announcements heralded, and outgoing correspondence, one often finds the only surviving copies of royally drafted correspondence. Moreover, the very acts of replication and preservation could be viewed as involving municipal agency, further blurring the distinction between royal and municipal documentation.

⁸⁵ Ismael García Rámila, “Relaciones de Burgos con los Reyes Católicos, basadas en fe documental,” *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 116 (1951): 573-609.

It is also the case that the documentation was stored differentially. Monarchs received correspondence from hundreds of different cities and communities, while cities received correspondence from only a handful of members of royal families and their officials. The royal archives therefore kept only a small fraction of all incoming communication from cities, while cities kept the overwhelming majority of royal communications, usually under lock and key. In addition to storage practices, historical accidents and other events have led to very uneven completeness of municipal archives across Iberia.

Some regions of Iberia are well represented. The single largest collection of published municipal documents on ceremonies appears in a book by Salvador Carreres Zacarés on the city of Valencia. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in ceremonies in medieval or early modern Spain; its documentary appendix contains hundreds of municipal documents from the city of Valencia, starting with the 1336 entry of Pedro II/ III, el Ceremonioso, one of the earliest known ceremonial receptions in Aragon.⁸⁶ Another boon to our understanding of the Crown of Aragon has been recent work by Miguel Raufast Chico. During the course of his dissertation research on ceremonial receptions in this kingdom (probably complete now), he has provided tantalizing glimpses of his project, including several partial and full transcriptions for documents held in Barcelona, as well as in smaller cities such as Lérida, Vich, and Tortosa.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Carreres Zacarés, *Fiestas celebradas en Valencia*.

⁸⁷ Miguel Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llurs entremeses e ball’: Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.2 (2006): 651-686; Miguel Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juana II en Barcelona,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.1 (2006):

Other parts of Iberia, principally Castile, have suffered major losses of municipal archival material. The case of Toledo's losses has recently been explained by two scholars researching the origins of the city's famous "Archivo Secreto," or secret archive.⁸⁸ Apparently, the loss of the oldest volumes of *libros de actas* (about 159 books) and untold quantities of loose papers was due to the nefarious actions of a certain Jerónimo Lozano, a porter at the municipal chancery in the early seventeenth century. Inquests and other documents related to a lawsuit show that Lozano accessed the documents to steal and sell them to a Juan Cohetero (literally, John the fireworks-maker) located on the Calle de la Sierpe, as well as to other fireworks manufacturers, for the celebration of the Translation of Our Lady of the Sagrario in 1628. Thus, the mystery as to why hardly anything survives in Toledo's archive prior to 1545 has now been explained.⁸⁹ While it is a rather bizarre scenario, it does point out that strange things happen.

Even less extreme circumstances have given rise to some surprising losses. Some have managed to preserve massive collections of documents detailing the minutiae of ceremonial reception, while in other cities, even those that saw a great many ceremonial receptions, almost all of the documentation that once existed has been lost.⁹⁰ The largest

295-333; "¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona," *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130; "Itineraris processionalis a la Barcelona baixmedieval," *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya* 29 (2006): 134-146.

⁸⁸ Teresa Álvarez Gómez-Escalonilla and Gabriel García-Largo Sánchez-Herederó, "Los Libros de Acuerdos Municipales de Toledo y las fiestas de la traslación de la Virgen del Sagrario. Los apañes de un sofíel y un cohetero," *Archivo secreto. Revista cultural de Toledo* 3 (2006): 169-171. The authors note that their article began with previous observations on the matter by Jack Owens, a historian intimately acquainted with the materials in Toledo's municipal archive.

⁸⁹ Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, professor at the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha in Toledo, has assured me that there is one document from an entry by Juan II (presumably his entry there in 1431), although I have been unable to find it.

⁹⁰ Particularly surprising are the losses in Zaragoza, where custom dictated that all kings of the Crown of Aragon were to be crowned, and in Segovia, which hosted entries for King Enrique II (1376), Princess

collections extant are found in Burgos, Seville, and especially Barcelona, with minor collections surviving in Madrid, Valladolid, Salamanca, Córdoba, Évora (Portugal), and a host of cities throughout Aragon and Catalonia.

Where the collections exist, there are of several sorts of municipal document that are useful, such as the various types of correspondence that were generated throughout all stages of a ceremonial reception—before, during, and after the royal procession. These include requests of payments (*cartas de pago*), orders and writs (*cartas de mandamiento*), letters of delegation and empowerment (*cartas de poder*), affidavits (*cartas de fe*), reports (*relaciones*), and testimonials (*testimonios/memorales*).⁹¹ Specialists in diplomatics divide these documents into categories according to their characteristics and function, but in reality, they often escape these boundaries, with a single document serving several functions at once. There are also financial accounts, ledgers, supply lists, lists of workers, and other documents generated by individuals connected to the municipal accounting bodies.⁹² Perhaps the most useful of all the non-narrative sources, however, are the city-council minutes (variously called *libros de actas*, *libros de acuerdos*, or *libros de hechos*).

The value of these minutes for the study of the municipal role in ceremonial receptions cannot be overestimated, for they reveal how materials were acquired, how much was paid for them, who was in charge of decision-making and purveyance, and all sorts of incidental information about city sentiments and conflicts when things went

Juana (1465), King Enrique IV (1472), King Fernando the Catholic (1474), as well as the proclamation of Queen Isabel I (1474).

⁹¹ The English terms I provide here are merely meant to be descriptive, and not true functional equivalents or actual terms of art with legal application. The Common Law traditions of England make it especially hard to give true translations.

⁹² The most well preserved collection of this sort is found in the Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, Sección XV (Mayordomadgo).

awry. A major stumbling block for the study of Spain's ceremonial receptions, in fact, has been that the *libros de actas* for most cities have remained unpublished, leaving each generation of scholars to tackle the very difficult paleography anew. This is especially true for Castile, where very few non-narrative municipal sources have appeared in print.

To my knowledge, the only complete and systematic edition of city hall minutes for Castile are those of Madrid (1464-1600), a rather small city during the period.⁹³ The first three years of extant minutes for Valladolid (1497-1499) were published, but the project was subsequently abandoned. The lack of edited municipal material from the most important cities of the time—Valladolid, Burgos, Segovia, Seville, and other major cities—has hindered scholarship on these cities.⁹⁴ This is in contrast to the situation in

⁹³ For Madrid see: *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. I (1464-1485), eds. A. Millares Carlo and J. Artiles Rodríguez (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1932); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. II (1486-1492), ed. Agustín Gómez Iglesias (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1970); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. III (1493-1497), eds. Carmen Rubio Pardos, et al. (Madrid: Raycar, S.A., 1979); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. IV (1498-1501), eds. Carmen Rubio Pardos, et al. (Madrid: Raycar, S.A., 1982); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. V (1502-1515), eds. Rosario Sánchez González and María del Carmen Cayetano Martín (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1987). For Valladolid see: Fernando Pino Rebolledo, ed. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990); Fernando Pino Rebolledo, et al., eds. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1498* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1992); Fernando Pino Rebolledo, et al., eds. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1499* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1993). For Madrid see: *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. I (1464-1485), eds. A. Millares Carlo and J. Artiles Rodríguez (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1932); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. II (1486-1492), ed. Agustín Gómez Iglesias (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1970); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. III (1493-1497), eds. Carmen Rubio Pardos, et al. (Madrid: Raycar, S.A., 1979); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. IV (1498-1501), eds. Carmen Rubio Pardos, et al. (Madrid: Raycar, S.A., 1982); *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. V (1502-1515), eds. Rosario Sánchez González and María del Carmen Cayetano Martín (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1987).

⁹⁴ For the time of Charles V onward, however, one can find detailed descriptions, years, and call numbers of a great many documents (including the *libros de actas*) on ceremonies from the Archivo Municipal de Burgos in Alberto C. Ibáñez Pérez, *Historia de la Casa del Cordón de Burgos* (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Burgos, 1987), endnotes, 311-325.

cities in England, France, and the Netherlands, making their use for the study of ceremonies easily accessible for scholars who study those regions.⁹⁵

Using both the narrative and non-narrative sources specified above, I have employed the definitional and selective parameters listed above along with specific methodologies throughout the dissertation's chapters. Chapter 2, "The Ceremonial Receptions of Castile, 1324-1516," provides a foundational kingdom-wide discussion of ceremonial receptions on which the rest of the chapters build. It synthesizes several micro-histories that exist for individual cities in Castile, and instead of the traditional treatment of each city as an island unto itself, the chapter stresses the connections among them. It also establishes parameters for evaluating municipal agency, providing a sketch of the various events commonly undertaken for ceremonial receptions, along with the role that municipalities had in organizing them. The chapter argues that urban elites had their own rhetoric, which they used actively—as a counterbalance to royal rhetoric—to influence and cultivate the relationship they had with their sovereigns.

Building upon this foundation, Chapter 3, "The Iberian Context: Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon," ties patterns in Castile to larger developments within the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the rest of Europe. To accomplish this, I use a comparative employing a center-periphery analysis of geoproximal influence. This is similar to Walter Eder's principle of concentric circles, which dictates that when explaining the origin of a phenomenon in one locale, we should look first to its immediate environs, not further

⁹⁵ I do not wish to imply that everything is perfect outside of Spain, for, as Mark Trowbridge alerted me to in a personal conversation, the published collection of city hall minutes for Flanders was silently abridged and calendared, leaving out all prices and other similarly useful information.

afield.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the farther away something is, the less likely that it was the impetus or cause for the phenomenon under investigation. A corollary to this principle is that to seek possible influences one should look to where spheres of influence touch or overlap, which makes the case of the medieval Iberian kingdoms optimal for study.

Within this framework, the chapter argues not only that the ceremonial receptions of all three kingdoms were intimately connected—but that a full understanding of whole necessitates an understanding of the parts. Thus, the comparative study of such ceremonies across three kingdoms illuminates clines and gradients at the peninsular level. The pan-Iberian patterns of civic culture and identity, and city-sovereign relationships would not be detectable otherwise. This insistence upon comparison is one of the most valuable contributions of the dissertation, in my judgment, since it challenges the utility of prevailing models of analysis involving hegemony and propaganda, as well as many common assertions about the exercise of power in Western Europe and the formation of the nation-state.

Chapter 4, “The Municipal Economy behind Iberian Ceremonial Receptions,” follows the more general analysis of peninsula-wide patterns with a detailed analysis of the financial underpinnings of ceremonies. It analyses these within a framework of royal patronage through the distribution of contracts, taking as a point of departure, examples from the historiography of Latin America that interpret viceregal ceremonies in the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Using the post-colonial perspective that emphasizes power, patronage, and ceremonial finance, along with models of hegemony and

⁹⁶ Walter Eder, “The Political Significance of the Codification of Law in Archaic Societies: An Unconventional Hypothesis,” in *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 262-300.

subjugation, Chapter 4 argues that such models are based largely on rigid notions of “absolute monarchy” and that the historical sources for medieval Iberia often portray more nuanced power relationships. The chapter also argues that to understand ceremonial receptions, one has to follow the money. It uses methodologies from military and economic history to interpret social history and finds an unexpected change from municipal to royal impetus in ceremonial organization in the early 1500s.

Building from the intricacies of the financial and decision-making mechanisms needed to organize a ceremonial reception, Chapter 5, “The Municipal Politics of Iberian Ceremonial Receptions,” analyses the many layers of micro-politics displayed during ceremonial receptions. Instead of assuming royal domination, this chapter employs models of cost-benefit analysis, reciprocation, and motivation theory to argue that both parties, the municipal and the royal, saw opportunities in ceremonial receptions and used them skillfully.

At its simplest, this dissertation is a study of royal-municipal relationships, but it is the implications of these relationships that make its scope much broader. By reversing the traditional focus on the monarch, my analysis proposes a new paradigm in which cities are the focus, and the presence of royalty is peripheral and transient. This new vision of the intersection of provisioning, local politics, and kingdom-wide politics not only has implications for the consolidation of royal power in Castile, for the rest of Europe as well.

CHAPTER 2

THE CEREMONIAL RECEPTIONS OF CASTILE, 1324-1516

The last fifteen years have seen the production of some pioneering studies of ceremonial receptions in Castile. Especially prolific have been the many conferences, articles, and monographs exploring these ceremonies in the Early Modern period, from the reigns of Emperors Charles V and Philip II onward. For the late medieval period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, there has been far less scholarly inquiry. A major exception to this has been a cluster of studies emanating from what one might call the “Madrid school,” the result of the interests of Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, José Manuel Nieto Soria, and several of their students at the Universidad Complutense. The hallmark of this collective body of scholarship, as mentioned above, has been the development of quite rigid typologies and a focus on outlining the elements and sequence of events of the “typical” ceremonial reception.⁹⁷

Another characteristic has been a strong royal centrism. In particular, Nieto Soria has argued that one should conceive of these ceremonies as “political ceremonies,” important for their “political value.” Citing Machiavelli and his suggestions for persuasion of the populace, Nieto Soria considers ceremonial receptions primarily a means of *persuasio*, or in modern terms, “propaganda.” He argues that they provided the monarchy a means of semiotic discourse, which bolstered and worked in conjunction

⁹⁷ Of particular influence has been the article by Rosana de Andrés Díaz outlining the elements and sequence of events of the “typical” ceremonial reception, “Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época,” *En la España medieval* 4 (1984): 46-62.

with “sermons, speeches, pamphlets, political treatises, etc.”⁹⁸ Royal spectacle projected a type of “non-verbal rhetoric, which, precisely because of its non-written form, [being] frequently dramatized and performed, favor[ed] a more immediate and disseminated apprehension by a wide audience, tending toward... a greater effect than the rhetoric put forth in writings.”⁹⁹

Looking at similar questions, another interdisciplinary body of studies has emerged from cultural anthropologists, art historians, musicologists, and scholars of literature and theater. Understandably, these analyses have centered on the cultural dimensions of ceremonial receptions, such as the music, aesthetic motifs, and especially the performance of political power. Thus, whether in the realm of political history or another field, the predominant lines of inquiry adopt a royal perspective and a shared goal of uncovering the mechanisms behind “the political process of image-making.”¹⁰⁰

I feel it is important to point out that at the heart of such approaches lie several assumptions: first, that the importance of ceremonial receptions (and ceremonies in general) lies in the semiotic strategies and political messages employed and not in the relationships among the parties. That is to say, the message is more important than the creators or receivers of that message; second, that one can understand human interactions as complex as rituals and ceremonies through typologies; third, that the messages of these

⁹⁸ José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1993), preface, 9, 13, 16.

⁹⁹ “Sin embargo, también existió y existe otra forma de retórica no escrita, que, precisamente por su carácter no escrito y, frecuentemente, dramático, teatralizado, favorece una percepción más inmediata y generalizada por parte de un amplio público, teniendo, por ello, en muchas ocasiones, una eficacia mayor que la puesta de manifiesto por la retórica escrita.” *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁰ Tess Knighton and Carmen Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon’s Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King.” *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119-163, esp. 123, 119. For the original articulation on how to read visual and iconographic vocabulary as “text,” see Roy Strong’s influential *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

can easily and unequivocally be interpreted; and fourth, that the discourse and actions of Castilian monarchs were ultimately uncontested and dominant over those of the city-dwellers hosting the event.¹⁰¹

It is my contention that such assumption, and the arguments they have engendered, are largely a result of the types of sources that have most commonly been used to study royal ceremonies. Chief among these are the narrative chronicles, along with a few printed pamphlets that began to emerge in the early sixteenth century.¹⁰² The bias of the latter is more obvious and overt, since the pamphlets were composed by courtiers with close ties to the royal house—often the same authors of the visual, aural, and performances they describe. Moreover, such documents were patronized, printed, and distributed by royal command.¹⁰³ The fact that they disseminate a royally sanctioned and royally controlled discourse is apparent.

The chronicles, though, have a bias that is less overt, for the rhetoric of their narrative is much more subtle. Narrative as a mode of communication has certain unique characteristics that other modes, such as tables and graphs, do not, creating within the reader/audience a particular type of understanding.¹⁰⁴ Specifically, historical narrative is seductive because it purports to represent “what happened,” although in reality the author has used his or her point of view to determine what to include and exclude, and therefore presents a selective interpretation of events and motivations. It is important to remember,

¹⁰¹ Presenting an alternate view, Teófilo F. Ruiz argues of a model of popular contestation. *Late Medieval and Early Modern Festivals* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

¹⁰² Additionally, there are artistic representations of various sorts for much of Northern Europe and Italy. Regrettably, such sources seem not to exist for the Iberian Peninsula before 1500.

¹⁰³ Only one or two exceptional chronicles explore the deeds and accomplishments of nobles and ecclesiastics, although the overwhelming majority of them focus on the lives of kings.

¹⁰⁴ Jerome Bruner, “The Narrative Construction of Reality,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.

then, that the narrative chronicles and their interpretations of reality were sponsored by kings and other elites.

A typical passage claiming merely to report the facts is to be found in the *Refundación de la Crónica del Halconero*, which reads:

And so the King [Juan II] arrived at the city of Toledo on the 28th day of August [1431], where he was received with great solemnity, both by the officials of the Church and by the nobles of the city... And approaching the bridge of Alcántara, the king found a tall platform covered with fine tapestries... [There present] were the [magistrates and officials] of the city, dressed in [their finest outfits]... they all proceeded in procession to the city's cathedral... and as the king descended from the platform, the officials carried over him a canopy of golden cloth, as is the custom.

After reaching the Cathedral and praying in the royal chapel, so the chronicle continues, the city's standard-bearer oversaw an evening of jousts and other martial competitions, "for the good service of the king and to honor his reception."¹⁰⁵

The preceding passage, similar to several dozen accounts of other such events, is appealing and provides a deceptively thorough record of the event. This is what the author chose to include. Yet, if one looks closely, it becomes clear that there are in fact untold quantities of information left out. The narrative begins and ends abruptly, animated by the presence of the monarch, as if preparations and materials needed for the ceremony appeared *ex nihilo*. Conveniently (and, I would argue conventionally), such narratives portray the residents of the city as faceless, nameless spectators passively

¹⁰⁵ "E llegó a Toledo a veynte z ocho días de agosto; donde fué rreçebido con muy grant solenidat, ansí de los señores de la yglesia como de los nobles de la çibdat... E llegando el Rey çerca de la puente de Alcántara, falló vn cadafalso bien alto, todo cubierto de finos tapizes... z los alcaldes z rregidores de la çibdat estauan todos vestidos de ropas de grana... E luego allegó la proçijón de la yglesia mayor... E luego se deçindió el Rey del cadafalso, z tomaron los alcaldes z rregidores vn paño de oro con varas, segúnd es costunbre ." Lope de Barrientos, *Refundación de la Crónica del Halconero*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946), ch. LXVII [1431], 125.

enthralled and “inebriated with joy” from the sight of their king,¹⁰⁶ “hungry for a virtuous and just king, [who] lose their minds from the happiness” of the occasion.¹⁰⁷

Common sense, though, would suggest that such ceremonies did not occur through spontaneous generation. In fact, if one looks at the documentation found in various municipal archives, it is clear that long before the transitory moment of the ceremony itself, city-dwellers busied themselves making decisions, calculating budgets, coordinating a small army of administrators, merchants, and workers, and raising substantial sums of money to pay for the affair. This occurred weeks or even months before the monarch arrived and ended with final resolution of the accounts, when the last payments for goods and services were made. This final resolution could occur over months, or even years after the monarch had left, providing a much broader timeframe for the ceremony than that presented in the chronicles. Such documents not only provide a necessary corrective to the distorting lens of narratives focused solely on the monarch, but they also greatly complicate the typological tidiness and models of royal domination of discourse that has been presented by much scholarship.

As I put forth in the previous chapter, the municipal sources use a variety of terms in the vernacular to describe these ceremonial events, and they do so with redundancy and equivocations.¹⁰⁸ That is to say, contemporary schemes were not as clear-cut as modern typologies would suggest. Furthermore, the documents show that the urbanites

¹⁰⁶ “la gente toda asi embriagada en gozo.” *Crónica incompleta de los reyes católicos (1469-1476) según un manuscrito anónimo de la época*, ed. Julio Puyol (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1934), Título XX, 166.

¹⁰⁷ “hanbrientas de rey virtuoso y justiciero, perdiendo de plazer el seso.” *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XII, 132.

¹⁰⁸ The most common noun used in municipal sources was “reception,” a noun that stressed the role of the city as receiver, rather than the role of the monarch as the received. But again, usage was variable. What was not variable, however, was the use, or rather the lack, of the adjective “royal” to describe the event.

hosting the receptions were not merely a passive audience, simply absorbing the king's "propaganda." Rather, the records make it clear that townspeople of various ranks had agency and pursued agendas of their own. They too had messages they wanted to convey to the monarch and employed their own pro-city rhetoric to do so. Ceremonial receptions were therefore, among other things, opportunities for an exchange of communications between crown and town. Like any other conversation, there were ambiguities and miscommunications involved and times when one side monopolized the conversation, while the other remained relatively quiet.

Perhaps most striking, in contrast to previous scholarship that has focused on the power of the court, the municipal records reveal that city-monarch interactions (such as ceremonial receptions and jousts) were dynamic, and that monarchy was not the only party projecting self-interested rhetoric. Cities, too, had their own goals, agendas, and forms of communication. That is, the semiotic relationship was bi-directional and dialectical, and, like most human interactions, was suffused with messages and the exchange of information throughout. City leaders also conveyed messages through gestures (such as kissing the royal hand or handing over ceremonial keys), signs, flags, and especially the colors and festiveness of the municipal uniforms. Also, contrary to the emphasis of recent scholarship, the greatest proportion of such communication was by far not theatrical, performative, or rhetorical; it was administrative.

The general contours of the process worked like this: The city council received royal correspondence and had it read aloud during the next session, perhaps in summarized form. The council or subcommittees of the council would then deliberate and discuss the details of the letter, deciding upon one of several proposed actions,

perhaps composing a response, investigating a particular issue raised in it, or simply tabling further discussion until another session. If something had to be built or purchased, contracts would be written along with the profusion of receipts, bills of sale, and other financial documents that facilitated the entire process. It is important to consider too that much of the communication would have been oral. There were oral instructions (via heralds) delivered to city-dwellers and rural “vassals” of the city, oral contracts and agreements made between vendors and purchasers, and conversations between foremen and work crews as they performed their tasks. Even the currency used to pay for ceremonial preparations conveyed messages, not only with the particular insignia on the coins, but also with the politics of currency—such as which king or city-state had minted the coin and established its reputation for quality. Granted, most of this communication occurred behind the scenes, but it is still important to remember that it was there.

Moreover, in addition to these commonly studied forms of communications, city magistrates also communicated with their actions and the decisions behind them—including the act itself of hosting a ceremonial reception, the effort and degree of planning, and preparation city officials put into it, and the willingness to spend money on the most luxurious materials to be had. These actions and decisions are testified by the documents that recorded, regulated, and preserved them, which show very clearly that city-dwellers were active participants in such events and worked to achieve their own agenda.

It is important, therefore, to look outside the realm of semiotics, and look at actions, since cities also exercised considerable agency and control over ceremonial occasions through their roles as decision-makers. The cities provided not only a physical

setting and spectatorship, but also their own participants, traditions, and institutional memory. Especially important, they employed networks of administration, decision-making, and labor that made the ceremony possible. Receptions of royalty into urban spaces were therefore the result of negotiated and participatory power dynamics, both internal and external. The case of Castile presents a microcosm of such power dynamics and is especially useful as a case study because it permits us to see the changes in these dynamics over time. Overall, what in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been a give-and-take relationship between cities and monarchs, by the early sixteenth century was tending toward one that was unilateral and royally dominated.

Because, as corporations, cities provided continuity of decision-making and an identity, many of these forms of communication were captured, or fixed in the municipal documents. Such continuity is especially visible in those documents created and intended for internal consumption by the city government. Owing to the fact that the city and its record-keeping norms were relatively stable over time, whereas ceremonial receptions were only periodic, excavation of the municipal sources provides a diachronic view of urban expectations, identity, and urban perception of the changing winds of political and economic circumstances, and the epiphenomenon resulting from all of these developments. That is, their traces provide clues of the perceived or desired relationship between city and monarch. Like layers of sedimentary rock, each deposited stratum was formed by the political conditions existing at the time of its creation.

One of the strata where urban agency in ceremonies was most apparent is the municipal sponsorship of jousts. These events formed part of almost every ceremonial reception of royalty in Castile, and city-dwellers came to consider jousting—along with

other spectacles of violence such as the running of bulls and *juegos de cañas*—an essential ingredient for what was termed, in short-hand, “fiestas y alegrías,” or “festivals and joyous occasions.”¹⁰⁹ It is clear that the link in the minds of city-dwellers between jousts and ceremonial receptions extended far back into the remote past, what contemporaries considered time immemorial. The existence of this connection can even be seen in the first reliable account that we have for a ceremonial reception in Castile, that for King Alfonso XI into Seville in 1324. The chronicler stresses that “at this [ceremonial] reception... there were... many knights who jousted [*béhourd* style] with shield[s] and lance[s].”¹¹⁰

Municipally sponsored jousts were simply part of the hospitality provided to visiting members of the royal family.¹¹¹ Despite its pervasiveness as part of most every festive occasion (including religious), the phenomenon of jousting has not received the

¹⁰⁹ Among the many examples one could cite, from any number of chronicles or municipal documents, one finds the betrothal celebrated in Medina del Campo (1418) between Infante Juan (soon to be King Juan II of Castile) and Infanta María, daughter of the king of Aragon, with “very grand festivals and joyous occasions, both in the form of jousts and tournaments and in the running of bulls”: “muy grandes fiestas y alegrías, asy en justas y torneos como en correr toros.” Lope de Barrientos, *Refundación de la Crónica del Halconero*, ch. XI, 29. Similarly, two years later, when, as the king of Castile, Juan II married doña María in the city of Ávila, the wedding was celebrated with “many joyous occasions of jousts and tournaments, and *juegos de cañas*, and running of bulls”: “muchas alegrías de justas y torneos, y juegos de cañas, y correr toros.” *Ibid.*, Ch. XIV [1420], 36.

¹¹⁰ “Et en este resecebimiento ... avia ... muchos caballeros que bordaban á escudo e lanza.” *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 66, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. I (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1875), ch. L, 204. There is something of an assumption on my part that this joust was mounted by the municipality. While no documents in the municipal archive surviving from that date prove that the city had a role in the joust’s organization, chroniclers usually make a point of mentioning whether a private, wealthy citizen sponsored the event. Moreover, the passage does portray the citizens of various estates of Seville as taking part in the celebrations, so presumably they also took a lead in organizing them: “the [people] of this city, the rich men, and knights, and citizens were very pleased with the arrival of the king... [and] they received the king with great pleasure and many festivals...”: “los desta ciubdat, ricos-omes, et caballeros, et ciubdadanos avian grand placer con la venida del Rey... [e] recibieron al Rey con grand placer e con muchas alegrías.” *Ibid.*, ch. L, 204.

¹¹¹ Such sources, in fact, are often the only surviving evidence that a city hosted a ceremonial reception.

type of scholarly attention it merits.¹¹² Even with the modern popular perception that jousts and tournaments typified the medieval, scholarship has been scant, especially for jousts before the sixteenth century. What scholarship there has been, like that for ceremonies in general, has tended to focus on the symbolism and political messages conveyed by the pageantry, theatrical gestures, and costumes, especially of non-urban elites.

Teófilo Ruiz has admirably shown the multi-faceted dimensions and political importance of jousts and civic ceremonies in Castile, treating them on the level of semiotics. He has stressed that

the symbols and colors that were used at these events [that is, jousts and other royal ceremonies] were in themselves messages as important as the celebrations themselves. These messages... play[ed] a crucial a role in the elaboration of the king's image as other factors [that are] much better studied.¹¹³

Particularly insightful have been Ruiz's analyses of specific festivals, such as the jousts and tournaments held at Valladolid in 1428, in honor of Infanta Doña Leonor travelling *en route* to marry Dom Duarte of Portugal. Leonor was accompanied by her brothers, the Infantes Enrique and Juan of Aragon, who were cousins and enemies of Juan II of Castile (1419-1454). The celebrations at Valladolid included mock battles between the opposing teams of Juan and his knights and that of the Infantes and their knights. At every turn, the symbols, gestures, and costumes of Juan II of Castile and his knights outshone those of

¹¹² The modern fascination with this competitive mock-combat has led to dozens of movies and even supports an entire chain of themed restaurants called "Medieval Tymes," where diners pay hefty fees to be served by "wenches," eat chicken with their fingers, and watch re-enactments of jousting events.

¹¹³ Teófilo Ruíz, "Fiestas, torneos y símbolos de realeza en la Castilla del siglo XV. Las fiestas de Valladolid de 1428," in *Realidad e imágenes del poder. España a fines de la edad media*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi [based on the conference *Genèse médiévale de l'Espagne moderne, 1370-1516*, Madrid, 1987] (Valladolid: Ambito Ediciones, S.A., 1988), 249-265, esp. 250-251.

the Infantes, so that the jousts constituted an “alternate battlefield to resolve political conflicts.”¹¹⁴

For city-dwellers, however, jousts would have had other layers of meaning over and above any political overtones projected by non-urban elites. Civic jousts had several functions and formed an integral part of various preexisting civic traditions, including saints’ days and appeals for divine intercession. Such wide-ranging use of the joust calls into question a categorization scheme of ceremonies that is particularly common in Spanish scholarship: the sacred vs. the profane. A prominent example of the use of this schema is the work by Ángela Muñoz Fernández.¹¹⁵ In her essay on medieval Madrid, she highlights the importance of games and jousts (along with ceremonies in general) in the lives of ordinary people, not just elites, but she is firm in her consideration of them as “profane” events.¹¹⁶ The underlying notion that jousts were profane is that the violent and ludic aspects of such events must have been contrary to sacrality—as if fourteenth and fifteenth-century townspeople were somehow confused about how to celebrate a sacred occasion properly.

I would argue, however, that such an assumption is more the product of modern sensibilities (seemingly Victorian) than a historical or psychological reality. To the contrary, as the work of the groundbreaking social theorist René Girard suggests, jousts and other such displays were sacred *because* they were violent.¹¹⁷ Pugilist competitions,

¹¹⁴ Ruíz, “Fiestas, torneos, y símbolos,” 254.

¹¹⁵ Ángela Muñoz Fernández, “Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas en el Madrid medieval,” in *El Madrid medieval. Sus tierras y sus hombres*, ed. Juan Carlos de Miguel Rodríguez (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Al-Muday, 1990), 151-176.

¹¹⁶ Even she points out, though, that, while ecclesiastics frequently railed against such events, evidence also suggests that they were frequent spectators.

¹¹⁷ René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, translated by Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

blood sports, and especially spectacles of violence toward animals (like bullfights), all have violence at their center. Such ritualistic displays of violence are, according to Girard, manifestations of the human tendency to seek “a surrogate victim. The creature that [originally] excited its fury is abruptly replaced by another, chosen only because it is vulnerable and close at hand.”¹¹⁸ Through the mechanism of sacrificial substitution, “society is seeking to deflect upon a relatively indifferent victim, a ‘sacrificeable’ victim, the violence that would otherwise be vented on its own members the people it most desires to protect.”¹¹⁹ For the substitution to result in social catharsis, however, the victim must be transformed into a sacred being, since otherwise it would be merely murder. The internal logic of the system is embedded in the word “sacrifice” itself (sacre + ficium), for it is not just the act itself that is made sacred, but the victim as well. Given the common connection between blood, violence, and religious occasions, this model holds far more explicative value than that of sacred vs. profane.

Jousts would also have carried more mundane levels of meaning for city-dwellers, however, including the events that these jousts created for the community. Every joust required the construction of platform seating to view it (called a *cadahanso*), and the municipal sources make it clear that each joust mobilized a veritable army of carpenters, carters, merchants vending cloth, timber, and sand, tailors, costume designers, painters, heralds, musicians, messengers, blacksmiths, and silversmiths, not to mention the levels of administration coordinating the actions of all these. For weeks before a municipal joust (both for receptions and other sorts of ceremonies), the city-dwellers would have experienced the sweet smell of sawdust in the air and the sounds of hammers, saws, work

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

crews shouting orders to each other. This is not as glamorous as the costumes and pageantry described in the chronicles, but it better illustrates the reality of the urban experience.¹²⁰

That the more quotidian implications of late medieval Castilian jousts (like those elsewhere) have largely remained unexplored is principally due to the reliance on narrative chronicles. Without having considered countervailing non-narrative municipal sources, scholars have assumed that most jousts in Castile were sponsored by—and presumably organized by—private patrons and nobles. Thus, Richard Barber and Juliet Barker somewhat mistakenly conclude that “the history of tournaments in the [Iberian] peninsula is largely linked to the enthusiasm of particular individuals for the sport.”¹²¹ The authors imply that Castilian jousts, like those in the rest of the peninsula, were supported by private patronage, while those of Italy were supported by urban patronage. Barber and Barker suggest such a difference was due to Italy’s lack of “tension between landed gentry and city-dwellers... where the richest and most powerful men were proud of their citizenship, [which] meant that jousts were exclusively a city phenomenon, even when the cities moved from republics and oligarchies towards princely rule.”¹²² The such

¹²⁰ Indeed, we now know that Jaume I of Aragon, as well as Sancho IV, Alfonso XI, Enrique II, Pedro I, and Juan II of Castile, all participated in jousts and tournaments, as did hundreds of their knights. A well publicized example of privately sponsored jousting helps appreciate the order of magnitude of the social participation and financial cost that such celebrations entailed. Financially, we see that a single tournament in 1434, the famous Passo Honroso, called for the production of 300 lances to be broken. Before Suero de Quiñones could even incur the cost of building the props, stages, seating, and the “list,” or jousting field itself, this minor noble had to first pay for felling timber upstream for the project. The organization and cost of all the items and labor involved were substantial enough to cause Suero to secure a large advance payment of his inheritance from his father to pay for it. Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, “Tournament in Italy and Spain,” in *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), 77-106, esp. 99.

¹²¹ Barber and Barker, “Tournament in Italy and Spain,” 91.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 79.

arguments that Iberian jousts were not an urban phenomenon is largely based on a lack of research, however.

The municipal archives of Castile are filled with financial accounts, ledgers, supply lists, worker lists, correspondence, and city hall minutes (*libros de actas*), attesting to the fact that cities were actually a significant venue for jousts (royally attended and otherwise)—far more important than has hitherto been assumed. In fact, municipally sponsored jousts were so pervasive and important to urban celebratory activities that their documentation—for cities where they are still extant, of course—provide us the clearest view of municipal networks and administrative structures that show us how city and ceremony intersected. This model that we can derive from this important phenomenon has implications for how we understand broader issues of cultural exchange, royal-city relations, and related matters.

At the broadest level, cities provided the setting, that is, the physical space where it was to be held, an audience, and perhaps participants. Each city chose its locations for a joust, according to tradition and spatial constraints.¹²³ The jousting field tended to be in the largest, most open space available, most often a town square, market, or other large space—such as a shipyard in cities with ports. Cities also provided a good number of spectators. Every spectacle, by definition and derivation, is something that must be watched in order to exist. It depends on spectators, and the urban populace was a key component of this. The platforms and stadium seating mentioned above provided the optimal vantage point from which to view the jousts. They were high enough to offer

¹²³ Teófilo Ruiz suggests that jousts were most often held outside the city walls. Ruiz, sub heading “*Festivals and Power: Sites of Inclusion and Exclusion*,” in *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (New York: Longman, 2001), 121-124. I have not found this to be true, since most every municipally sponsored joust that I have yet studied was held within the walls.

something of a bird's-eye view, yet close enough to the action to permit the viewers to appreciate the jousts' detail, including the clashes, the body posture, and so on. When the occasion marked a royal visit, the royal family and most privileged members of the court would sit on the platform, usually in a highly decorated box meant to instantly mark their status and clearly set them apart. The highest-ranking municipal officials shared the platform, marking their status and privilege by their relative proximity to the royalty in attendance.

In addition to the city's elites, a much wider circle of inhabitants formed part of the greater spectatorship, crowding themselves around nearby balconies and windows. Townsmen whose houses happened to have a particularly good vantage point overlooking the joust could even rent that space to eager spectators. Of particular importance, as is testified by dozens of passages in the chronicles describing similar scenes, was the presence of, "all the women and young maidens of the town perched at the windows or platforms," watching the men take part in the spectacle.¹²⁴ These women, of course, added a romantic dimension to the joust, following Arthurian-inspired stories and novels. Such ideas were clearly in the minds of some, such as the chronicler who maintained that the 1475 joust in Valladolid was an occasion when the quantity of "lances they broke... were more than those by the Knights of the Round Table."¹²⁵

¹²⁴ "todas las dueñas y donzellas de la villa puestas en las ventanas y cadalsos." *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XX, 165.

¹²⁵ "las lanças que rompian ... mas de aquellos caualleros de la Tabla Redonda." *Ibid.*, Título XX, 166-167. This joust is most oftentaken to have been sponsored by non-urban elites, but one wonders how it could have been organized without using municipal infrastructure to some extent.

Cities also provided a variety of ready-made networks that facilitated the relatively complex task of organizing and executing a jousting tournament.¹²⁶ Most obvious, cities provided commercial and labor networks, with merchants and suppliers capable of acquiring the necessary resources locally and from afar, which were used in tandem with the pre-existing infrastructure of ports, roads, and canals to distribute and deliver the materials. The materials to be acquired were substantial. Every joust required lances, flags and decorations, and probably signs to announce the event.¹²⁷ The overwhelming majority of the supplies, however, was used for the construction of the jousting field itself (called a “list” in English, “lista/ liça” in Castilian) and especially the platform seating (*cadahanso*) where the royal party and important municipal officials viewed the spectacle. Among the materials necessary for its construction were ropes, sand, some tools, and lots and lots of wood.

In addition to the commercial networks, cities supplied networks of administration necessary to coordinate not only the purchase of the right quantity of materials, with their distribution to the right place and time, but also more generally the communication, finance, and planning required to organize a joust. To complete such a logistical feat, one would expect, perhaps, to find what in modern business terms would be called a project manager. In fact, however, the functions of receiving and generating communications, devising methods of finance (usually taken from specific pools of municipally-levied taxes), and the planning behind it all was most often undertaken more

¹²⁶ For similar meditations on supplying royal entries in the Netherlands, see Peter Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit? Court and City in the Burgundian Low Countries,” in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 101-117.

¹²⁷ While lances were most often provided, participants were expected to provide their own armor and horses, and for this reason they are not found among the municipal archival sources.

broadly by a variety of municipal magistrates, with information and decisions passing through multiple levels of administration.¹²⁸ Only in a few instances do we find anyone resembling a project manager; even then, his tasks were usually limited to the logistical follow-through of plans that had already been created from above. In some cities, Seville, for instance, such a person existed as a regular employee of the municipal administration. Called a *mayordomo*, he oversaw the execution of various large-scale urban construction projects, and served as liaison between the municipal administration, on one side—including the city council (*concejo*) and the accounting bodies (*contadores*)—and the suppliers, merchants, and work crews on the other.¹²⁹ Other cities had more improvised procedures and simply appointed a given urban official (often a member of the city council) temporarily to the task.

Municipal contributions could also be of a more material nature. Cities offered prizes and trophies to entice greater participation in the jousts, ensuring that it would be celebrated with as much pomp as possible. The most typical prizes presented were expensive textiles and silver bowls.¹³⁰ Luxurious textiles were expensive, yet essential for the conveyance of social status, and the municipal proveyance of these was a very important contribution a ceremonial reception. The joust held in Valladolid (3 April

¹²⁸ Clearly, I can only provide generalities here, since every city administration had its own particular nuances, often with different offices and structure. Instrumental to the administration of Seville were the *Veinte y cuatro Cavalleros*, while in Barcelona similar roles were played by the *Consellers de Cent*.

¹²⁹ Because this post of *mayordomo* was relatively centralized, and produced its own paperwork, Sección XV (Mayordomadgo) of the Archivo Municipal de Sevilla is unusually rich in materials relating to Late Medieval Spanish ceremonial receptions and jousts. Curiously, while this collection is exceedingly complete and organized, the city hall minutes (*libros de actas*), so useful for most cities, are a disaster. Stuck between the books's pages are hundreds of seemingly random letters, receipts, and scraps of paper. Compounding the problem is the fact that researchers are given microfilm to look at, making it almost impossible to tell what is part of the bound book, and what is a loose piece of paper.

¹³⁰ This tradition of silver basins (*bacians de plata* in Castilian, *baçinas d'argent* in Catalan) being presented as the prizes for martial sports has clearly carried into modern day, the best example of which is probably the Stanley "Cup."

1475) to honor the reception of Fernando and Isabel “offered lengths of brocade and other rich jewels as a prize.”¹³¹ Similarly, the city council of Valladolid ensured “celebrat[ion of] the union, peace, and harmony (*concordia*)” between Fernando the Catholic, his daughter Juana, and son-in-law Felipe of Habsburg, by hosting a joust that would offer participants “cloth for every day that they should wish to joust.”¹³² Cities could also provide additional incentives by offering martial trophies, such as lances,¹³³ although the most typical of such prizes were the helmets and armor of the defeated adversary, offered up as spoils of the mock-warfare that the joust represented.¹³⁴ For the municipalities, the presentation of prizes and trophies represented a type of control: prizes helped ensure that a certain minimum number of participants would present themselves at the joust, and they helped control popular perception, since the more lavish the prizes, the more prestigious the city offering them.

Municipal jousts also served as loci of cultural exchanges and negotiations of power. Like their private counterparts, urban jousts brought together participants from various kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and even from other parts of Europe. For instance, the members of the royal households of Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, with chivalric retinues in tow, frequently participated in jousting events in Castile.¹³⁵ On other

¹³¹ “pusieron pieças de brocado y otras joyas ricas de prez.” *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XX, 165.

¹³² City hall minutes, 2 January 1506, Libros de Actas, f. 203r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid. Nota bene that this joust was not performed in the royal presence, but rather was conducted to celebrate a royal occasion from afar. This was a typical occurrence.

¹³³ For an instance of lances being offered as prizes, see document listed above.

¹³⁴ For an instance of helmets being offered as prizes, see the occasion when Pedro de Silva and Martín de Gusmán were awarded the helmets (*yelmos*) of Gonzalo de Quadros and Fernando de Guevara, respectively, for having “removed them from their heads,” : “ge los auían lleuado de la cabeça.” Lope de Barrientos, *Refundación de la Crónica del Halconero*, Ch. LXXXIX [1434], 152. The value of such spoils would be considerable, both in terms of being a true trophy of combat, as well as the wealth they represented. Armor was extraordinarily expensive, far out of the means of the average worker.

¹³⁵ For but one instance of this, see Teófilo F. Ruiz, “Fiestas, torneos y símbolos,” 249-265.

occasions, jousts attracted participation from across Western Europe, such as when “During John of Gaunt’s campaigns [1387], we hear of jousts in Portugal between English, French and Spanish knights.”¹³⁶ We even hear of knights errant travelling to the Iberian Peninsula from as far away as the Germanies and Swabia to participate in martial events of various sorts.

Such contacts between Iberian cities and foreigners speak to a much higher level of cosmopolitanism than is often thought to have existed in the Middle Ages. Many aspects of competitive jousts in Iberia had impetus from such contracts, principally with territories north of the Pyrenees, in what is now France. This is testified by the fact that “it is only in the areas of Spain in closest contact with France that tournaments are recorded before 1300,” namely the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, and the county of Barcelona.¹³⁷ It would be a mistake, however, to regard this as merely “French influence” seeping into Iberia. One must remember that Europe of the early thirteenth century—when one first starts to see jousts south of the Pyrenees—was composed of small principalities and counties, with the Aragonese royal house and the counts of Barcelona holding a variety of claims, through marriage and succession, to a variety of territories on both sides of the Pyrenees. That is to say, parts of modern Spain and modern France were at the time part of the same polity.

It would be more accurate to regard couched-lance jousting as a product of the larger processes involving Northern European military developments and the heavy

¹³⁶ Barber and Barker, “Tournament in Italy and Spain,” 102.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 91, 94. Although Castile was probably behind England and France in the development of jousting traditions, and its festival *machinas* were probably inspired by Italian models via Aragon, Ruiz considers its theater and *entremeses* to have “independent roots” (raíces autóctonas). Ruiz, “Fiestas, torneos y símbolos de realeza,” 251.

interactions between Northern and Southern Europe typical of the eleventh or twelfth century.¹³⁸ In this, Spain's experience parallels that of Italy, where the practices of heavy cavalry and couched-lance jousting were introduced from the North by German knights.¹³⁹ Again, such influence makes sense, because parts of modern Italy and modern Germany had once been part of the same polity, the Holy Roman Empire. Similarly, King Felipe I of Castile was of Habsburg extraction, although he travelled widely. The inventory (in French) of king Felipe I's private armory—large parts of which probably followed him during his travels between Castile and his Habsburg lands in Northern Europe—lists hundreds of individual weapons, pieces of armor, and other accessories, such as plumes for the helmet. Roughly a third of the weapons mentioned seem destined for combat, another third for hunting, and another third for jousting. Although not every entry lists the origin of the piece, three entries do suggest that he engaged in jousts throughout his travels in Iberia: “[9] Item, encoires ung harnaz de jouste mode despaigne... [78] Item, ung ecu de jouste a la mode [scratched out: dalemaigne] despaigne... [80] Item, six autres rondeilles mode despaigne.”¹⁴⁰

The language in which the list was written should not be too surprising, since French was among the more widely used languages in Western European cultural exchange, which is immediately evident from the words and phrases used in Castilian

¹³⁸ James Powers has been working to narrow this time period, but for now his findings remain unpublished.

¹³⁹ As Barber and Barker observe, “The first specific appearances of full scale tournaments and jousts on Italian soil are largely associated with the presence of foreigners, and... were fought exclusively among the German aristocrats of that area—we meet no Italian names.” Barber and Barker, “Tournament in Italy and Spain,” 77. Similarly, “During Juan of Gaunt's campaigns, we hear of jousts in Portugal between English, French and Spanish knights, but no Portuguese knights are named as taking part.” *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁴⁰ Transcribed in Pierre Terjanian, “La armería de Felipe el Hermoso,” in *Felipe I, El Hermoso. La belleza y la locura*, eds. Miguel Ángel Zamala and Paul Vandenbroek (Burgos: Fundación Caja de Burgos), 142-162, esp. 157-160.

jousting. Two important examples are, first, the phrase used to begin the tournaments, and, second, the word to describe the competitive rewards. Jousts in the Spanish kingdoms apparently, “began with the herald’s cry of ‘Laissez-les aller, laissez-les aller, pour faire leur devoir’ (Let them go, let them go, to do their duty),” a command given in French.¹⁴¹ Similarly, contestants were awarded a *preçio* (or *prez*), which, like the English cognate “prize,” derives from the past participle of the French verb *prendre*, “to take.” What is curious to the modern reader of Spanish is that today the word *precio* is today used only in the sense of “price,” or the amount for which one takes possession of a good during a financial transaction. In modern Spanish, sports contestants are awarded a *premio*, deriving from Latin *primus*, or “first.”

These “influences” teach us something about the sociology of knowledge and language. The Iberian Peninsula, and Castile in particular, is often portrayed as isolated from Europe and thus not truly European (a notion immortalized by Napoleon’s famous aphorism that “Africa begins at the Pyrenees”). The evidence provided by Castile’s jousts complicates this idea, however, showing instead that Iberia was part of a wider European cultural sphere and a full participant in European history. That is to say, jousts in Iberia relied heavily on the existence of strong municipalities, which served as the nexus for all sorts of exchanges: financial, intellectual, artistic, customary, and so on.

For the present purpose, the most important aspect of urban jousts was that they facilitated municipal-royal interactions. Like most other human interactions, they were complicated. While most often they seem to have been instigated by municipal agency and impetus, there are some ambiguities. For instance, monarchs seem sometimes to have

¹⁴¹ Barber and Barker, “Tournament in Italy and Spain,” 101.

requested municipally hosted jousts. Such requests can be inferred, for instance, from municipal documents listing the costs for “the [jousting] platforms for the festivals that by command of the King and Queen, our lords, [which] were constructed here in this city.”¹⁴² Most frequently, though, the cities seem to have provided such honorific jousts to the monarchs on their own.

Urban contributions were therefore not merely reactive; they were proactive and interactive. They formed part of a gesture of hospitality that helped negotiate the relationship between cities (which were corporations) and their monarch. That is, they would also have facilitated urban interactions between the city and the person who held dominion over them and had the power to revoke or rescind part or all of their city charter. Like footprints fossilized in ancient stone, the patterns left in the municipal documentation—created for internal consumption, not an external audience—provide traces of the transactions that occurred long ago. While these vestiges are not complete or perfect, their patterns do suggest that each ceremonial reception, along with its constituent elements such as a joust, was an opportunity for a city to affect its relationship with the monarch. Cities therefore put forth special efforts when they were hopeful of improving their relationship, even if it was only to mend bad relations.

An ideal case study for viewing these municipal-royal negotiations and interactions over time, diachronically, is the city of Valladolid. The usefulness of this

¹⁴² Expense sheet, “Los cadahansos que para las fiestas que por mandado del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros señores se fisiron en esta çibdad,” 19 July 1490, Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Other documents for these preparations clearly mark these structures as “the platform and list that were constructed for the joust.” Although they are not dated, their respective headings are “Iten, los maravedis que costaron la madera e tabalas e clauason...que se gastaron en el cadahanso e la tela que se fiso para la justa,” and an almost exact duplicate with the heading of “Madera e gasto de la justa,” with a few stroke differences, no totals for number columns, and one entry (on *sogas*) dropped out, then added to end. Also, a document from 13 July seems to be an inventory for wood that came up missing after the platforms were dismantled.

example lies in the city's importance as a commercial and cultural nexus, its centrality in royal affairs, both as a location as one of the royal chanceries and as a traditional territory held by the queens of Castile. The case of Valladolid is also useful because of the nature of its records. A nearly complete set of city hall minutes from 1497 onward has survived into the present day, containing not only the proceedings of the meetings, but also several letters from and to the monarch copied into them, as well as messages publicly cried aloud. The regularity and reliability of the minutes—our strata of data—provide a record of municipal-royal interactions over time, especially on the important occasions of ceremonial receptions into Valladolid in 1497, 1502, 1506, 1509, and 1513.¹⁴³ Although city hall minutes have not survived for the period before 1497 (aside from a few random fragments), we can gather an earlier glimpse from important document from 1483—what appears to be an notarial testament of municipal actions of legal importance. The document shows how the townsmen of Valladolid used a variety of methods to voice their extreme dissatisfaction with royal policy.

The particular chain of events started one 31 December 1482, when, as the document begins, “it was proclaimed and made known” in Valladolid to the chiming of bells that Fernando and Isabel had awarded lordship over Simancas to the Admiral of Castile and the lordship over Cabezón to the Viscount Don Juan de Vivero, even though

¹⁴³ Valladolid served as a major center of political activity, especially during the two marriage alliances created between the children of Spanish monarchs the imperial house of the Habsburgs. The city received the Archduchess Margarita de Austria in 1497, who returned to the Netherlands after delivering a stillborn child and after her husband Juan, son of Fernando and Isabel, died in Salamanca on the way to the wedding of his older sister in Portugal. When a new marriage alliance was then devised between Prince Felipe el Hermoso (son of Emperor Maximilian I and brother of Margarita) and Princess Juana of Castile (Juan's sister), Valladolid—along with almost every major city in the realm—gave the royal couple a reception in both 1502 and 1506. The external signs of this connection with the Habsburgs can even be seen to this day, since several historic buildings throughout the city still bear the family's coat of arms.

both communities were under the city's jurisdiction and dominion.¹⁴⁴ Neither the city nor any of its territories had been informed of these negotiations. As the document proclaims, the monarchs gave over the territories "without [the city] having been heard, nor called upon, nor conquered, and against the laws of the realm which explicitly protect Valladolid or its territories from being alienated and against the privileges, oaths, favors, and confirmations that Their Highnesses [themselves] extended to the city."¹⁴⁵

The sudden appearance of the Admiral with such shocking and unexpected news caught the city's magistrates completely off guard. Not knowing what to do, they accepted the Admiral as lord and ceremoniously kissed his hand in acknowledgement of the royal grant. But this was done begrudgingly and "upon learning the news, all the inhabitants of the city felt great resentment and showed great pain and sadness, both in public and in private, and everyone began to speak about and debate the cost [to the city], of some 500 vassals, [as] they said."¹⁴⁶

Popular fervor began to brew, and within seven days (on 5 January), it had reached its boiling point. A "phalanx" (*una lanza de armas*) of townsmen marched in procession through the crowded streets of Valladolid in protest, not coincidentally on the city's market day, when there would be a larger spectatorship. The crowd channeled its

¹⁴⁴ "se sopo e sonó." "El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid quando se dieron Simancas e Cabeçon," transcription in María del Rosario Falcó y Osorio, *Documentos escogidos del archivo de la Casa de Alba, publicados por la Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela* (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Tello, 1891), 12-16, esp. 12.

¹⁴⁵ "syn ser la villa oyda, nin llamada, nin vençida, y contra las leyes destes reynos que defienden espresamente que Valladolid nin sus lugares non sean enajenados, y contra los preuilegios y juramentos y mercedes y confirmaciones que Sus Altezas ficieron e otorgaron á la dicha villa." "El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid," 13-14.

¹⁴⁶ "y sabida esta nueua, ouieron muy grand sentymiento, e mostraron grand dolor y tristura en publico y en secreto todos los vecinos de la dicha villa, e cada uno decia e fablaua lo que se pagaua, platicando sobresto con su vecino, e dician que tenia merced el Almirante de otros quinientos vasallos de la tierra de la dicha villa." "El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid," 13.

energies through the municipal standard (symbol of the city), rallying behind the city's *alférez* bearing it. Various levels of city officials along with men and women of the city proceeded in a circuit of protest. The throng started at the Monasterio de San Francisco, continued on to the Puerta del Campo, the Plaza de la Costanilla, then to Cantarranas, left the city through the Puerta San Benito el Viejo toward Santa Clara, reentered the city near the Plaza de Santa María, and marched onward to the Plaza Mayor.

The crowd of townspeople conveyed its sentiments using a barrage of semiotic tools, including several denouncements (*reclamaciones*), and “great shouts in unison.”¹⁴⁷ Additional elements included “breaking large numbers of clay pitchers and burning brooms and bundles of twigs, using their plumes of smoke and signals to [create] perpetual memory of the occasion.”¹⁴⁸ In other words, the city-dwellers were literally burning the act into the collective memory of the community, an act of resolve never to forget the moment and to “push forward this cause until we receive reparations.”¹⁴⁹ The acts were also immortalized in the legal sense as well, being “recorded in testimony by several scribes who were there.”¹⁵⁰ Like most legal acts in Castile, the power and authority of this event came from it being performed in public, with witnesses, which was to be bolstered and testified in writing as a permanent remembrance of the act. The document that I am citing is almost certainly a product of one of the very scribes it

¹⁴⁷ “todos de una conformidad dieron una grita grande.” *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ “fueron quebrantados... muchos cántaros, y quemaronse manojos y escobas, faziendo sus ahumadas y señales para perpetua memoria de la cosa.” *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴⁹ “de proseguir esta cabsa fasta ser reparados.” *Ibid.*, 15. The acts were also immortalized in the legal sense as well, being “recorded in testimony by several scribes who were there” : “E aquestos actos se pidieron por testimonio á muchos escriuanos que alli estauan.” “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid,” 14. The document which I am citing is almost certainly a product of one of these very scribes.

¹⁵⁰ “E aquestos actos se pidieron por testimonio á muchos escriuanos que alli estauan.” “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid,” 14.

mentions, and its origins and purpose help us to interpret certain phrases the author chose to include.

For instance, the author mentions that the band of city-dwellers “displayed great pain and sadness in public; ... everyone from the city, both natives and residents from afar, were scandalized, perturbed, and sad;” and the scribe who immortalized the acts continues, “the women were crying as is the custom on Holy Week.”¹⁵¹ The last phrase is semiotically interesting for a variety of reasons. First, it ties the public demonstration to the processions of Holy Week, when Spanish Catholics contemplate the great sorrows, suffering, and sacrifice of Christ. Second, the public ceremonies and acts of wailing recalls the female practice of ululation in the Middle East—existing for thousands of years, especially as part of funerary rites—which almost certainly represents a cultural transfer between Muslim and Christian populations. Third, it is important that the author emphasizes that the wailing protesters were women. The gender politics and expectations were such that mourning was a particularly feminine act. Such notions would be tied not only to the tears themselves, and their associations with the long tradition of venerating a lachrymose Virgin Mary, but also to the women as keepers of memory and caretakers of the injured and the dying.¹⁵²

The act also conjures up visions of cremation and death, and indeed much of the demonstration seems to have been a cross between acts of communal sadness and a

¹⁵¹ “mostrando muy grand sintymiento e tristeza... todas, toda la villa, asi naturales como forasteros, estauan muy escandalizados, turbados y tristes, y las mugeres llorauan como en la Semana Santa se suele hazer.” Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁵² For the role of women as providers of continuity, especially as widows who outlived their husbands and caretakers who saw death frequently as part of childbirth, see Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

parody of funeral rites.¹⁵³ Such allusions to death were made even more explicit by the presence of certain funerary trappings, especially the use of the color black—the traditional color associated with death and mourning in many cultures.¹⁵⁴ The crowd itself was a sea of “black, [accompanied by] a black standard painted with the city’s coat of arms, as two trumpeters and two drummers played very sad sounds...and all the deputies, magistrates, and officials of the *consistorio* joined the procession wearing long robes of mourning with their hats on their heads, showing great despair and sadness.”¹⁵⁵ European traditions in the Middle Ages saw wearing a hat as a sign of modesty and piety. Hats shielded God from one’s impure being, and in the case of women, shielded men from their lust-inducing hair. Other associations with headwear would have included the skullcap worn by Jewish and Islamic populations, each maintaining their own tradition where they lived in Europe. Among Christian Castilian populations, married women also wore the *toca*, a headdress meant to denote modesty and non-availability.

The significance of the hats (*sombreros*) in this context is that the author stresses their use in order to highlight that the officials were endorsing and participating in part of the quasi-funerary procession, as a demonstration of sadness in solidarity alongside other social strata of the Christian population of Valladolid. The author repeatedly mentions the atmosphere of sadness (*tristeza*), the color black, and the use of robes of mourning (*luto*). With these various external signs of grief, the procession mourned the death of Valladolid’s corporate sovereignty, its prestige and influence, rights and privileges, and

¹⁵³ “de proseguir esta cabsa fasta ser reparado.” Ibid., 15.

¹⁵⁴ Linda Woodbrige, “Black and White and Red All Over: The Sonnet Mistress Amongst the Ndembu,” *Renaissance Quarterly* XL, no. 2 (1987): 247-297, a reference to Victor Turner’s work on color classification among the Ndembu.

¹⁵⁵ “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid,” 10.

ultimately its favorable relationship with the monarchy. An indeed the procession paraded directly to the residence of the Bishop of Jaén—one of the king’s counselors (*oidores*) resident in the city—to lodge with him a formal complaint.¹⁵⁶

The relevance and importance of this dramatic episode in Valladolid to the current study on ceremonial receptions is two-fold. First, the city-dwellers vowed to return to the issue of their territory’s alienation on every anniversary of the occasion, using the same outfits, demonstrations, and recriminations, until the monarchs changed their position. Thus, it would be a recurrent theme of interaction between the two parties. Second, in addition to yearly commemorations, the townsmen swore that “whenever the king or queen come to [this] city, [its inhabitants] will pull out the same standard and will present themselves in the same [black] clothes to receive Their Highnesses, kissing their hands and pleading for justice and restitution [of the city’s] territories until such time as they receive... their favor.”¹⁵⁷ That is to say, the city-dwellers would dutifully and ceremoniously receive Isabel and Fernando as their lords and rulers, but they would do so with overt displays of mourning and a sense of grievance.¹⁵⁸

The episode of 1483 also encapsulated a particular set of political circumstances. We will recall, as recently as 1475 the city-dwellers of Valladolid had hosted what seems to have been, to judge from the chronicles, a rather congenial reception of the monarchs. The city’s reception had served as an occasion instrumental in settling quarrels in the region

¹⁵⁶ “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid,” 15.

¹⁵⁷ “que cada cuando el Rey o Reyna, nuestros Señores vinieren á la dicha villa, sacarán aquel pendon, y yrán asy vestidos a recibir y besar las manos á Sus Altezas, pidiéndoles justicia y restitucion de sus lugares, fasta que, syquiera por inportunidad ayan misericordia dellos.” “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid,” 16.

¹⁵⁸ Such demonstrations of grief could fall in the tradition of Castilian subjects taking a stance when they disagreed with their monarchs or royal policy, articulated by the common phrase “I obey but I do not comply” (*obedezco pero no cumplo*).

between opposing factions. Within the kingdom of Castile, they triumphed over their rival candidates to the throne and the various factions of nobles that had opposed them since Isabel's acclamation as queen-proprietress in 1474. After only about a year of strife, they were able to negotiate a peace with one of the key grandees of the realm, the duke of Alba mentioned previously. In March 1475, Fernando and Isabel were "triumphantly received" into the city of Medina del Campo, where the duke of Alba turned over to them the fortress of la Mota.¹⁵⁹

The duke's reconciliation was symbolized by handing over the fortress of La Mota in the town of Medina del Campo, just southwest of Valladolid, after which the city of Valladolid in turn received the monarchs.¹⁶⁰ There, as in Medina del Campo mentioned above, "they were received with a very triumphant reception."¹⁶¹ The fact that only eight years after Valladolid's ceremonial reception of Fernando and Isabel, these same monarchs unilaterally alienated the city's territory without so much as consulting it was no doubt an insult.¹⁶²

The episode serves as a vivid testament to how fickle and fragile the relationships between city and monarch were. The fate and political circumstances of an entire

¹⁵⁹ This was considered "a very praiseworthy act," according to one chronicler, "since the duke of Alba [was] the first of the grandees to start turning over the possessions they had in the realm." : "fue vna cosa muy loada al duque de Alua por ser el primero que dio comienzo en entregar las cosas que los grandes de la corona tenían." *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XX, 164.

¹⁶⁰ The importance of Valladolid as a major political center of Castile can be seen not only by this important act of reconciliation, but also in the many political events associated with Tordesillas, a town lying between Medina del Campo and Valladolid.

¹⁶¹ "con muy triumphoso rezebimiento fueron rezebidos (editor notes it was 18 de marzo de 1475)." *Ibid.*, Título XX, 165.

¹⁶² "El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid," 12-16. I am unaware if other copies exist, but presumably, given the importance of the episode, the archives of both Valladolid proper and the monarchs would contain some reference to it. The act was performed publicly by one of the most politically active figures in the region, much in the same way that the 1483 protests were. It is probably no coincidence that the *memorial* immortalizing the episode in Valladolid covered above was part of the family archive of the same Dukes of Alba.

community could literally change overnight, and cities had to cultivate a relationship between local and royal power structures as best they could. Indeed, it seems that the municipal-royal relationship remained sour for some time and that the city-dwellers of Valladolid and its territory kept their vow, repeatedly making use of the color black to seek the recuperation of their lost territory, prestige, and favored-city status. Between the episode of 1483 and the changes in royal policy it represented, and the next royal reception for which documentation is extant (that of Princess Margarita of Austria in 1497), there lies a gap of about 15 years.

After this gap from 1497 onward, the city hall minutes are nearly intact and provide clues that suggest that the relationship between Valladolid and the monarchs of Castile fluctuated between cold and lukewarm for several decades. On 3 May 1497, for example, the city council of Valladolid voted on the color scheme of the municipal uniforms to be used for the upcoming ceremonial reception of Princess Margarita. It decided that, “the reception uniforms are to be of robust black velvet,” with sleeves, chest panels, and shoulder accents of crimson satin.¹⁶³ Thus, despite a few accents, the core of

¹⁶³ “[Margin: Sobre las ropas.] Este dicho día fué asentado asy mismo por los dichos sennores que las ropas del resçebimiento fuesen ropas negras rozagantes... E que las puertas que han de llevar ante los pechos sean de raso carmesí e los aforros de las bueltas de los onbros de raso e las mangas asy mesmo de raso, con que en la ropa de terçiopelo negro roçagante e en la puerta de raso carmesí e en los otros aforros aya de entrar los diez e seys mill maravedís que cada regidor an de dar o se da que hicha la dicha quantya,” 3 May 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990), 92-93. Curiously, previous minutes for 15 March 1497 state “It was decided on this day... that the uniforms should be commissioned to be given to... the *corregidor* and *regidores*... made of blue-green velvet, or if they cannot be made with of a greenish hue, then may they be of blue velvet.”: “Este dicho día fué acordado por los dichos sennores, que se oviesen de fazer las ropas que se an de dar a los dichos sennores, Corregidor e Regidores, para el resçebimiento de la prinçesa, nuestra senhora, de terçiopelo aseytuní azul. E sy no se podiere aver tanto azeytuní, que sean de terçiopelo azul.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1497*, 80.

For comparison, see Madrid’s purple and crimson uniforms listed for 9 March 1502. “[Margin: Abto.] Los dichos señores dixerón que pues la Villa da a los dichos señores justiçia e regidores grana para capuzes e sayos e jubones e bonetes, segun questa en el asiento del ayuntamiento pasado... Acordose que se de para capuz e sayo a cada regidor siete varas de grana, quatro e media para capuz e dos e media para

the uniform was generally to be dark. However, a curious phrase in the minutes makes the 1497 scenario difficult to interpret.

The uniforms were “to be made in the manner of the one that Mister Antonio Franco brought from the court.”¹⁶⁴ Without any specification as to Franco’s identity or position, either royal or municipal, it is hard to know what to make of the phrase. At first glance, the passage would seem to suggest that the Fernando and Isabel (presumably the entities behind “the court”) commissioned a uniform to serve as the model for the magistrates of Valladolid, which they commanded the council to adopt. Or, the model could also simply have been an example for emulating the latest fashion emanating from the court, since, as María Martínez has demonstrated, the court of the Fernando and Isabel was fashionably *avant garde* and saw frequent changes in its couture, serving political and cultural ends.¹⁶⁵ It is also possible that the city had sent an agent to negotiate a uniform that would be acceptable to both parties. Since the event was to be the reception of princess Margarita, daughter-in-law of the Catholic Monarchs, the crimson accents may have been a compromise between protesting with black and an attempt to establish a good relationship with the young princess. The young woman, at the time, was slated to become the next queen of Castile, after all. There is also similar evidence from other cities. For example, in 1511 the city magistrates of Burgos adopted ceremonial clothes consisting of robes (*lobas*), smocks (*sayas*), and sleeves of black velvet.¹⁶⁶

sayo, e dos varas de raso carmesi para jubones e media vara de terçiopelo carmesi para bonete.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 21.

¹⁶⁴ “fechas de la manera que el señor Antonio Franco a de mostrar una que trae de la Corte.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 93.

¹⁶⁵ María Martínez, “La creación de una moda propia en la España de los Reyes Católicos,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 19 (2006): 343-380.

¹⁶⁶ “[Heading: Venyda del Rey] que todas las dichas Ropas sean de terçiopelo negro e que sean lobas con que los quisieren capas lobas que las puedan haber con que sean del dicho terçio pelo negro y en las

Of course, one thing to consider is whether the use of these many black uniforms, over the course of several exchanges between the monarchy and Valladolid, just happened to coincide with a death in the royal family or other such sad occasion. That is, were these just funerary clothes? My sense is that they were not. First, the timing of the decision on 3 May is important, since it occurred quite a few months before Margarita's husband, Juan, died on 4 October 1497. This would suggest that the city council's decision to wear black was not motivated by the death of a royal family member, but rather the desire to continue the 1483 vow of *vallesoletanos* to wear black to all royal receptions. Second, although the term "luto"—normally referring to funerary clothes worn during occasions of great mourning—was in some instances used as a short-hand for the color black, the sources seem always to distinguish thoroughly between the occasions themselves, that is, between a festive ceremonial reception and a funerary occasion.¹⁶⁷ *Recibimientos, entradas*, or any of the other vernacular terms designating the former were distinguished from *exequias*, or funerary processions. In other words, the cases that I have discussed above did not use a funerary term, and to the contrary, mentioned at least some cursory expression of the appearance of joy, even if the subtext

mangas delas sayas sean negras e que se dé a cada vno diez e seys baras de terçio pelo negro." 19 July 1511, Libro de Actas, 1511, f. 181v, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

¹⁶⁷ This sort of distinction might have changed under Felipe II, whose fondness for black and somberness is legendary. Additionally, he took some pleasure in demonstrating his dominion over cities by permanently altering the protocols and even physical environment used to receive the king. Before entering Burgos or Toledo, he insisted on completely rebuilding the city gates through which he would enter. The façade of Burgos' Puerta de Santa Maria, with a classicized motif, and Toledo's Puerta Nueva de Bisagra stand as testament to Felipe's desire to alter the Crown's relationship with the citizens. The Puerta de Bisagra, in fact, was an entirely new gateway, not just a change in façade. The old gate (Puerta Vieja de Bisagra) was quite small, only about six feet wide, and it led straight into an awkward and cramped part of town. The new gate was at the foot of a new processional route circumventing the city proceeding directly to Toledo's main square, the Plaza Zocadovér, and to the royal fortress (*alcazar*). It was enormous by comparison, in the shape of a large rectangle with four large turrets at each of the corner. The tall walls of the rectangle essentially form a courtyard of a few thousand square feet. In addition to the ceremonial focal point and acoustic advantages, the new gate—that is, part of the city's walls—was branded, as it were, with a double-headed eagle over the external archway, Felipe's mark.

suggests that this was only half-hearted. In addition, the case of 1497 mentions crimson accents, which would seem out of place if the intent were genuinely to mourn or honor the loss of a royal family member. Furthermore, the use of black would be repeated in 1509, which would seem highly inappropriate, since several sources make it clear that the occasion was meant to honor the birth of a new prince, and not an event mourning death.

There are also the many royal prescriptions against the use of black. To ask the magistrates to use black, even for part of a uniform, would be peculiar and inconsistent with the multiple royal prohibitions issued against its use. Repeatedly the monarchs of Castile ordered city councils throughout the realms to receive members of the royal family with demonstrations of “all the joy and pomp” that such an occasion warranted.¹⁶⁸ Documents related to the 1502 reception of Prince Felipe and Princess Juana into Valladolid, stipulated that the magistrates should adopt uniforms of “light colors,” “in order to demonstrate the full extent of joy received from the arrival of... the princess.”¹⁶⁹ That is, they were to use any color other than black. Similarly, for the reception of the same couple into Madrid four years later (1506), Fernando and Isabel specified that “if some [city officials] are to dress up, make sure it is with colors and not black so that there is a greater appearance of receiving them with joy.”¹⁷⁰ Thus, it was no secret that the Catholic Monarchs were averse to the use of black as a color for municipal uniforms used during ceremonial receptions. From the royal perspective, such occasions were to show

¹⁶⁸ “con todo el plaser y acatamiento.” Filemón Arribas Arranz, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos relacionados con Valladolid* (Valladolid: Imprenta Sever-Cuesta, 1953), doc. XIV, 55.

¹⁶⁹ “Iten porque se muestre más el alegría que se recibe de la venida de los dichos Prínçipes nuestros señores, que todos los que se ovieren de vestir se vistan de colores claras.” Arribas Arranz, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos*, doc. XIV, 56.

¹⁷⁰ “Si algunos se ovieren de vestir, trabajad que sea de colores y no de negro porque parezca mas el alegría con que lo reçiben.” Royal letter, Granada, 14 October 1501, sección 2-311-29, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid. Transcription in *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 19-20.

the happiness with which their subjects accepted their dominion. City-dwellers of Castile also seem not to have used the color black or its implications of somberness haphazardly. Rather, they seem to have been averse to any sign of sadness during ceremonial receptions, forcing an atmosphere of joy upon their sovereign even when there was an occasion for mourning—at least when their political leverage allowed them to do so. An important instance of this is when, in January 1475, King Fernando was received into Segovia, a city near Valladolid. One of the chronicles recounting the event reads,

our residents, divided according to estate and profession, received him [i.e. Fernando] with much joyousness, decorative structures, pomp and circumstance. The king was wearing an outfit of mourning for the [recently] deceased [king] Enrique [Isabel's half-brother]; they pleaded that he remove the mourning clothes for the reception.

In compliance with the public will, “he put on a sumptuous outfit of gold thread... trimmed in ermine, for the duration [of the ceremony].”¹⁷¹

In additions to the numerous, if somewhat inconclusive, instances of the persistence of black color-schemed uniforms, there are other indications of a fluctuating and troubled relationship as well. The sources suggest a general trend in the decision-making behind ceremonial receptions, from one with municipal impetus and high levels of input, to one where the monarchy took over most of the decision-making. Specifically, with ceremonial receptions of King Fernando after his first wife, Queen Isabel of Castile died in 1504, one can gather that there was a rather abrupt change in city-monarch relations. This is seen in the new royally sponsored pamphlets, as well as in the municipal records. Each of the sources provides its own nuances to the story.

¹⁷¹ “Nuestros ciudadanos, divididos en estados y oficios, le recibieron con mucha alegría, invenciones, gala y lucimiento. Traía el rey una loba de luto por el difunto Enrique; suplicáronle la quitase para el recibimiento. Vistió una ropa rozagante de hilo de oro tirado, forrado en martas, por el tiempo.” *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XII, 133.

Setting the stage for the advent of the royally sponsored pamphlets was King Fernando's travels to the kingdom of Naples in 1505. He took the kingdom for himself and replaced an illegitimate relative of his as ruler there. Fernando's installation was marked by a ceremonial reception that included a series of ceremonial arches *all'antica* incorporating motific elements that very clearly and explicitly portrayed Fernando as a triumphant military conqueror.¹⁷² Miguel Falomir, an expert in Catalan theater and ceremonies, has tied the new triumphal discourse to certain developments in Italian theater, and especially the precedent of the 1443 royal entry into Naples made by Alfonso V of Aragon, King Fernando's uncle.¹⁷³ When Fernando returned to his realms within the Iberian Peninsula in 1505, he would be received ceremoniously at least five times over the course of the next decade.¹⁷⁴ Two of these occurred in the city of Valladolid, the first in 1509, and the second in 1513.

These two ceremonial receptions of Fernando into Valladolid were immortalized in printed pamphlets (*relaciones*)—some of the earliest of their kind—and have therefore

¹⁷² For some of the more important studies of these arches within the Spanish context, see Knighton and Morte García, "Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119-163. Vicente Lleó Cañal, "Recibimiento en Sevilla del Rey Fernando el Católico (1508)," *Archivo Hispalense* [Seville] 188 (1978): 9-23. Ronald Surtz, "The Entry of Fernando the Catholic into Valladolid in 1509," in *European Medieval Drama (vol. 6): A Selection of Papers Presented at the Tenth Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'étude du Théâtre Médiéval held in Groningen (Netherlands) 2-7 July 2001*, ed. Jelle Koopmans and Bart Ramakers. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002) 99-108. Ronald Surtz, "Waiting for Charlot: Fernando the Catholic's 1513 Entry into Valladolid." Unpublished manuscript.

¹⁷³ Miguel Falomir Faus, "Entradas triunfales de Fernando el Católico en España tras la conquista de Nápoles," in *Actas de las VI Jornadas de Arte, 'La Visión del mundo clásico en el arte español,'* Madrid, 15-18 December 1992 (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1993), 49-55.

¹⁷⁴ Scholars have treated the five ceremonial entries as a group because of their incorporation of triumphal arches and new motific themes, although this view fails to account for Fernando's 1511 entry into Burgos, where neither of these was present. As will be explained below, there is reason to question the common assertion that his 1507 entry into Valencia had triumphal arches. Moreover, his 1511 entry into Burgos certainly did not have them—a point neglected by the school of thought that royal monopoly of power was a steady progression.

received a good deal scholarly attention.¹⁷⁵ These interesting documents recount in vivid detail the decoration of triumphal arches present, as well as the historical and allegorical figures, theater, music, and poetry used in them to exalt the monarch. The predominant trend in the scholarship has been to view these post-Isabeline ceremonial receptions of King Fernando in terms of the major motific innovations that they introduced into Spanish ceremonial receptions, namely the introduction of a triumphal motif styling the monarch as a conqueror and continuator of the ancient legacies. I would like to point out, however, that the innovation presented by these arches was relative. The supposedly innovative use of arches as ceremonial structures existed at least as early as 1497, and almost certainly before (see discussion of arches below).

In addition, ceremonial receptions of previous decades had already incorporating elements of the classicized motif and references to Roman antiquity during previous generations. For instance, one writer remarked that when King Fernando and Queen Isabel were received into the city of Valladolid in 1475—some decades before the

¹⁷⁵ The original pamphlet from the 1509 entry appears to no longer be extant. A transcription, however, can be found in Luis de Soto, “Este es el recibimiento que se hizo al rey don Fernando en Valladolid,” Antonio Paz y Meliá, *Series de los más importantes documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Exmo. Señor Duque de Medinaceli. Elegidos por su encargo y publicados a sus expensas por Antonio Paz y Meliá*. 2^a seria, bibliográfica (Madrid: Imprenta Alemán, 1922), 183-188, which has also been edited more recently by Rosana de Andrés Díaz, “Fiestas y espectáculos en las ‘Relaciones Góticas del siglo XVI,’” *En la España Medieval*, 14 (1991), 328-333, esp. 307-336, and by Ángel Gómez Moreno in his *El teatro medieval castellano en su marco románico* (Madrid: Taurus, 1991), 151-158. The original 1513 pamphlet is currently held at Harvard University, while a facsimile can be obtained from Luys de Soto, *Recebimiento que se hizo al rey don Fernando en la villa de Valladolid bispera de la epifania deste año de dxiii*, Valladolid, 1513, reproduced: Series: El Jardín de la memoria; no. 1 (Madrid: El Crotalón, 1982). A transcription can be found in Knighton and Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon’s Entry,” 159-163. The reader should know that the transcription introduces considerable confusion regarding the order of the seven symbolic crowns presented to King Fernando, especially confusing since three of the seven crowns were gold. In what was probably an attempt to maintain the layout of the original document, the transcription was put in columnar form. In the original this made sense, since one would read columns A and B on folio 1v. and columns C and D on folio 2r. The transcription of Knighton and Morte García, however, has a different page cut-off, leading the reader to read column A, then C, then B, then D. To eliminate the confusion, the reader should read the crowns in the following order: (1) Laurel, (2) Grama, (3) Arrayhan, (4) Roble, (5) Oro [O rey bienaventurado...], (6) Oro [Otra corona de oro...], (7) Oro [Coronose vuestra alteza...].

ceremonial receptions of King Ferdinand into the same city in 1509 and 1513—the sight of the monarchs and their party was so splendid “that it appeared not as though they were like previous kings of Castile, rather, like Caesar had come to the world in [all his] greatness and magnificence.”¹⁷⁶ Even earlier, during a ceremony in England, “Lydgate compare[d] Henry VI’s London triumph (1432) to those of Scipio and Julius Caesar.”¹⁷⁷ Of course, beyond the rhetorical use of antique legacies there was also the connection to actual, contemporary military victories and triumphs in warfare, events that were certainly not absent in fourteenth and fifteenth century Castile. During their reigns, Isabel and Fernando were victorious over a multitude of enemies, both foreign and domestic.

How these precedents in the triumphal motif relate to Fernando’s post-Isabeline receptions of 1506-1516 is a bit ambiguous. The phrases used in the 1475 receptions (“they were triumphantly received” and “they were received with a very triumphant reception”) use the notion of triumph as an adverb and an adjective to qualify the act of reception itself. Instances using reflexive and passive forms make the situation a bit unclear. It could be that in each case the author considered the city itself to be triumphant and as actor (grammatically, the subject) to have received the monarchs. Within the context of actual military victory, it was probably the monarchs themselves who were seen as triumphant and were received as such. Still, the phrasing is ambiguous enough for a third possibility to exist, one in which the reception itself was triumphant. That is to

¹⁷⁶ “y non pareçian reyes de Castilla segund los pasados, mas que Çésar era al mundo venido en grandeza y magnifiçençia.” *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes católicos (1469-1476)*, Título XX, 168. Perhaps of some relevance, preoccupations with military triumph and royal and national image can also be seen in Alonso de Palencia’s curious allegorical work, *Tratado de la Perfección del Triunfo Militar (1459)*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 116 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), urging Enrique IV of Castile and the major noble factions to cease their quarrels and aspire to the accomplishments of the French and Italians.

¹⁷⁷ Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theater, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 10.

say, that it incorporated elements of a triumphal motif with contemporary relevance, not necessarily classical in reference. Whatever the exact meaning intended, the important point is that the innovation represented by post-1505 allusions to the ancient Roman triumphal processions was relative. In many ways, such allusions probably represented more an extension of previous trends in political thought and artistic conventions than dramatic change.

In fact, the very hallmark of later entries *all'antica*—the triumphal arch—had structural precedents. The city hall minutes of Valladolid mention that the city constructed for the reception of Princess Margarita in 1497, “arches in the [Square of] la Costanilla,” the same square where the 1509 and 1513 arches for Fernando would be erected. That the earlier arches were of similar scale as the later ones is suggested by the fact that the city made payments of 186 *maravedís* to one “Gutierre, carpenter, [for] carpenters he brought to disassemble the arches,” along with 20 *maravedís* “to some workers who transported some beams for scaffolding to disassemble the mentioned arches.”¹⁷⁸ The number of workers involved and the need for scaffolding to safely dismantle the arches indicates they were of substantial size.

The late fifteenth-century arches for Princess Margarita were decorated with 300 roses, the work of the painter Francisco Bueso, who received two *maravedís* per rose, for

¹⁷⁸ “[Margin: Librança a Gutierre, carpentero, en Ribadeneyra de CCCI maravedís.] Este dicho día mandaron librar a Gutierre, carpentero, en el mayordomo Ribadeneyra quatro carpenteros que trajo para derribar los arcos de la Costanilla de CLXXX^oVI maravedís, e una balança que fizo para el peso de la harina de la Puerta del Campo en LXII maravedís, e a unos ganapanes que llevaron unas vigas para fazer los andamios, para derribar los dichos arcos XX maravedís, e al mayordomo de su obrero XXXIII maravedís, que son todos CCCI maravedís,” 24 July 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 212-213.

a total of 600 *maravedís*.¹⁷⁹ Clearly, these roses in no way represent a militarily triumphal motif. Thus, these arches and their decoration point us to an important distinction to be made. Broadly, one should talk about ceremonial arches, while using the narrower category of “triumphal arches” only for arches that specifically had classicized motifs depicting military triumph. We should acknowledge that the blanket application of terms like “triumphal arches,” “triumphal entries,” and “civic triumphs” to refer to all ceremonial arches and ceremonial receptions is the result of reading back developments of later centuries. As Gordon Kipling cautions us, “the history of these festivals... has so far been written from the point of view of the sixteenth century.”¹⁸⁰

Aesthetically, what was truly different about the 1509 and 1513 ceremonies was not so much their references to emperors or antiquity or the presences of arches, but the decoration and motifs used on the arches. What is more, from the social historian’s point of view, the most interesting aspect of Fernando’s 1509 and 1513 receptions in Valladolid is how they were organized. The pamphlets associated with these ceremonies explicitly and prominently announce that the programs of both receptions were designed by a certain Luis de Soto, the king’s chaplain. Ronald Surtz suggests that it was likewise de Soto who “designed the iconography... composed the texts inscribed on the triumphal arches ... penned the words of the poems and songs of praise,” and probably composed the music of the entries.¹⁸¹ As explained in detail at the beginning of this chapter, Castile

¹⁷⁹ “[Margin: Librança en Ribadeneyra CC maravedís a Françisco Bueso, pintor.] Este dicho día mandaron librar a Françisco Bueso, pintor, duçientos maravedís en el mayordomo Françisco de Ribadeneyra a complimento de seysçientos maravedís, que montó en trezientas rosas que fizo para los arcos de la Costanilla, a dos maravedís cada rosa, por quanto los otros quatroçientos le están pagados en el dicho mayordomo. Asentóse a su cuenta,” 26 May 1497. *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁸⁰ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 10.

¹⁸¹ Surtz, “The Entry of Fernando,” 101, n. 8. Luis de Soto was “a retainer of Bishop Alonso Enriquez,” who, not so coincidentally, “was related by blood to King Fernando: the king’s mother was Juana Enriquez;

had a 200-year-old tradition wherein the municipal councils (*concejos*) designed, organized, and financed all the preparations for ceremonial receptions, using their pre-established commercial, administrative, and labor networks to do so. Thus, changes to such protocols were thoroughly a political act.

A vision of such changes appears not only in the royally sponsored pamphlets, the municipal sources, which show a marked quantitative and qualitative shift in the traditional patterns of decision-making and organization. From the earliest extant minutes associated with the ceremony of 1497, through those for 1502 and 1506, one sees extensive discussions about how to receive the monarchs, as well as heavy municipal activities. After this, the city hall minutes of Valladolid show a change in the quantity of data recorded for the ceremonial receptions. With Fernando's 1509 ceremonial reception, the data recorded in association with the event began to wane, and by 1513, there is a single casual mention of payment made. This precipitous drop-off suggests a deterioration of municipal control over planning and preparation, concomitant with an increase in royal control undertaken almost wholly outside normal channels, certainly outside the city's governmental machinery.

Such a pattern only becomes visible by studying the events over time, and by understanding the logic inherent in municipal administration. The decision-making and preparation of ceremonial receptions generated copious paperwork in the form of

Fernando and the bishop's father were cousins." Ibid., 102. It is important that earlier Spanish ceremonial receptions had seen the presence of arches, meant to provide an ornamental façade for a city gate, and also made frequent imperial comparisons. Thus, the innovations of the arches and motifs are really a question of degree.

financial accounts, ledgers, supply lists, worker lists, and correspondence.¹⁸² Even when these documents are no longer extant, one can infer much of the city's administrative capacities from the city-council minutes (*libros de actas/ acuerdos*), which recorded most every step of preparation as the municipal apparatus planned and executed the affair. I have read the city-council minutes for about a dozen ceremonial receptions throughout Castile and have found remarkably consistent record-keeping practices, with the council of each city recording at least the general details of discussions held to organize a royal entry, often with surprisingly meticulous detail of who was present, the materials, prices, and workers involved, and so forth.¹⁸³ City council minutes tended to record at least summaries of decisions and major municipal actions.

With these mechanisms in mind, patterns in the data emerge. The 1506 minutes for Valladolid (on honoring the “union and concord” between Fernando and his son-in-law Felipe of Habsburg, who briefly had become estranged) suggest a subtext of anxiety. Appearing to be under heavy royal scrutiny, the city hall minutes painstakingly recount the execution of every royal demand in meticulous detail, giving an account of every royal protocol that was complied with, where and when it was performed, by whom, and who witnessed the event.¹⁸⁴ This suggests that the magistrates strove to comply with the letter, but not necessarily the spirit, of the royal orders to celebrate the occasion.

The minutes of 1509, while still capturing a high degree of municipal participation, show a great number of debates centering on what degree of pomp (*atavío*)

¹⁸² By “correspondence,” I am referring to the various *relaçiones, memoriales, cartas de fe, cartas de pago, cartas de mandamiento, cartas de poder*, etc., which diplomatic specialists divide into categories according to their characteristics and function, but in reality often overlap these boundaries within a single document, serving several functions at once.

¹⁸³ This parallels Strong's sense of a “remarkably consistent visual and iconographical tradition” found in royal entries across Europe. Strong, *Art and Power*, 7.

¹⁸⁴ See *Libros de Actas*, 1506, fols. 202v-203r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

should be used to receive King Fernando and whether the ceremonial garb of the city magistrates should be paid for by the city, the individual, or a combination of both. The decision went back and forth, back and forth, until finally settling on combined finance.¹⁸⁵ What is conspicuously absent is any discussion about specific decorations or organization to be undertaken by the city. Again, this was a highly unusual scenario. Even if the specific actions taken were not mentioned that the issues themselves had been discussed should have been recorded, at least in summary form. There is also a peculiar subtext to the 1509 discussions, providing a one-sided debate justifying the ceremonial reception of King Fernando, “due to the benefits and graces that these kingdoms receive from his Highness..., being how it is [and existing with] much peace, harmony, and justice from his Highness.”¹⁸⁶

Additionally, the minutes mention several times that the urban officials “spoke about and voted” (*platicaron e votaron*) on how to receive Fernando for what seems to have been his second formal reception into the city.¹⁸⁷ While the minutes repeatedly assure the reader that the vote was unanimous, this very insistence, along with the fact that many of the discussions were repeatedly tabled, suggests that the responsible committee had in fact reached an impasse on multiple occasions or found the debate too heated to proceed without a period to let tempers cool.¹⁸⁸ It seems rather that some members of the council were in favor of a true celebration of the occasion, while others were not as enthusiastic. The former were probably hopeful of the (re)establishment of a

¹⁸⁵ See Libros de Actas, 1509, especially fols. 404v-405v and 408r-409v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁸⁶ “por los bienes e merçedes questos Reynos Resçiben de su Alteza por estar como esta en... mucha paz e concordia e justiçia con su Alteza.” 14 December 1508 (1509 scratched out), Libros de Actas, 1509, f. 405v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁸⁷ See Libros de Actas, 1509, fols. 404v-505v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁸⁸ Libros de Actas, 1509, f. 405r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

good relationship with Fernando, solidifying ties not only with him, but also with the king's newborn son (although the latter would not mature for almost two decades).

It is also odd that the justifications to receive Fernando are generic, kingdom-wide benefits, nothing specific to the city. In other words, while in the past Valladolid had received its monarchs as part of its on-going, very personal relationship, here the city seems to have had no real motivation of its own. The city-council minutes show other peculiar patterns as well. In typical fashion, Valladolid ordered nearby communities under its jurisdiction to appear with carts to help clean the city and to appear with “all the boys and girls of each place with the greatest pomp possible, and with a flag and a drum or drummers and flag bearers.”¹⁸⁹ When the time came, however, several communities failed to appear with the items stipulated, and the city tried to punish various town councils of these communities, seeking to impose a 1000 *maravedís* penalty for failing to comply.¹⁹⁰

I should mention also that Valladolid's 1509 ceremonial reception is the only example of this sort of non-compliance that I have found. The 1506 reception of Fernando's daughter and son-in-law into Burgos, Juana and Felipe I, did see instances where individuals and surrounding communities failed to heed edicts attempting to regulate the flow of grain and bread toward the city and not away from it.¹⁹¹ But in these

¹⁸⁹ “con todos los moços e moças de cada lugar con el mejor atavio que pudieren e con un pendon e atanbor o tanbores e pañaderos.” 22 January 1509, Libros de Actas, 1509, f. 408r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁹⁰ See Libros de Actas, 1509, fols. 408r-409v and 410v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁹¹ The price was to be set at “what it cost to transport,” for *pan cozido*, and for loose grain, an additional “three *maravedís* for each *fanega* of wheat and two *maravedís* for each *fanega* of barley per *legua* and not more.” : “que costava traher... mas sobre cada fanega de trigo tres maravedís é sobre cada fanega de çebada dos maravedís por legua é non mas.” 2 April 1506, Sección Histórica, número 3024, Archivo Municipal de Burgos. 1 *fanega* = 1.58 bushels: Juan Villasana Haggard, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents* (Austin: University of Texas, 1941), 76.

cases, non-compliance was occasioned by royal orders attempting to force merchants to sell bread and grain in the city at below-market values, so I think that Valladolid's situation is quite different. The failure of local communities to appear at the 1509 reception of Fernando seems to suggest that their relationships with either the city or king had soured, or possibly represent a chain-reaction resulting somehow from the changes in the relationship between the city of Valladolid and the crown following the 1483 episode of territorial alienation.

There is also corroborating evidence of soured city-monarch relationships elsewhere in Castile. The city-council minutes from Fernando's 1511 ceremonial reception into Burgos, as seen with the 1509 ceremony in Valladolid, show only generic justifications and a rather one-sided debate about whether the city should even celebrate the king's arrival. One municipal magistrate stated that while "some people could contest and object to the ceremonial reception," others were in favor of it, and so was he.¹⁹² A fellow supporter justified the reception on two grounds: 1) because the city had not given Fernando a ceremonial reception since he had returned from Naples and 2) because "it is a time-honored tradition in this city and in other parts of the kingdom to receive... kings and princes."¹⁹³ Despite the support of these two vociferous members, the city council voted to have the city's ceremonial uniforms made of black velvet and silk, as mentioned above. Since it was usual to choose bright and vibrant colors (most often red, blue, or green), this gesture seems to be one of protest and begrudged compliance.

¹⁹² "Regidor dixo... algunos podran escusar e contradezir el Reçibimiento que a su alteza se quiere hazer." Libro de Actas, 1511, f. 179 v, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

¹⁹³ "[el] corregidor a dicho, e en esta çibdad... Antiguamente como otros lugares del Reyno tiene en constunbre de Reçibir con palio a los Reyes e principes." Libro de Actas, 1511, f. 179r, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

In Valladolid, the peculiarities of previous occasions seen in the subtext of the documentation had manifested themselves, by 1513, within the text—or rather the lack thereof. In contrast to the typical profusion of municipal discussion on preparations, finances, and the issuance of uniforms, the text of city-council minutes for 1513 consists of a single, casual mention of the ceremony. The cryptic one-phrase passage reads, “item, on this day the mentioned [councilors] ordered the release [of funds] for the wood and bundle of nails that were used on the triumphal arch when His Highness entered this city this month of January, forty *reales*... [to be paid] from the municipal coffers... to the city’s architects.”¹⁹⁴

The payments suggest that there was at least some municipal involvement in preparing for the event, although in the most limited sense. It is interesting to note that the only townspeople mentioned are those associated with the triumphal arches. The architects or master builders mentioned are referred to as *alarifes*, a word of Arabic origin designating professionals of high expertise in matters of construction and structural integrity.¹⁹⁵ While one can only speculate as to what their exact role was in constructing the arches—perhaps serving as consultants—the absence of any other municipal involvement suggests a final step in the change from municipal to royal organization.

To organize such ceremonies outside the usual municipal decision-making process would not have been easy. The pamphlet recounting the royal perspective of the event gives credit for the ceremony’s organization to one Luis de Soto. He almost

¹⁹⁴ “[Heading: Librança dela madera del arco triunfal] Iten, este dicho día los dichos señores mandaron librar para las maderas e clauason que se gasto en el arco triunfal de quando entro su alteza en esta villa este mes de enero, quarenta reales en el mayordomo delos propios. Testigos los dichos e que los pague a los alarifes desta villa.” 29 January 1513, Libros de Actas, 1513, f. 659r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

¹⁹⁵ The minutes themselves contradict the royally sponsored pamphlet, mentioning one, not two, arches.

certainly relied on local networks, not only because of the high-level experts mentioned, but also because logistics would dictate this to be so.¹⁹⁶ The pamphlet's introduction provides us a clue as to how outside royal officials interfaced with local infrastructure. It mentions that de Soto worked in concert with, or otherwise relied on the "very reverend and highly magnificent lord... don Martín Fernández de Ángulo, bishop of Córdoba and president in the court and royal chancery, who resides in the mentioned city and its council."¹⁹⁷ While the syntax makes it a bit unclear whether he was a member of a royal council, a chancellery council, or the city council, what is clear is that the bishop of Córdoba resided in the city in order to perform his duties as a royal official. It would be reasonable therefore to assume that de Soto, and the royal administration in general, was relying on Martín Fernández de Ángulo to provide a vital link between the royal decision-making machinery and the personal contacts and knowledge of local work crews, availability of materials, and infrastructure (including roads and boarding houses, etc.) that the bishop of Córdoba brought to the table.

The radical change in the municipal source base points to deeper, more fundamental changes in not only the relative agency of municipalities in deciding the programming of ceremonial receptions, but also the very relationships on which such events rested, the very personal relationship between crown and town. Such changes coincide with the advent of post-event printed accounts and the control over political

¹⁹⁶ The options for how Luis de Soto undertook the organization of the 1509 and 1513 ceremonies in Valladolid are: he was physically there, he went back and forth, or he coordinated everything by messengers or correspondence.

¹⁹⁷ "muy reuerendo z muy magnifico señor el señor Don martin fernandez de angulo obispo de Cordoua presidente en la corte y chancilleria real que reside en la dicha villa de valladolid y de su consejo."

discourse they offered the monarchy.¹⁹⁸ It is precisely with the advent of these that we see a transition from municipal to royal decision-making. Both the 1509 and 1513 pamphlets prominently announced the role played by Luis de Soto in designing the program for these events. The decisive shift from municipal to royal agency, in fact, seem to be embodied vividly in one of the moments recounted in the 1509 pamphlet, which was aimed at external audiences. As Fernando approached the third triumphal arch (out of a total of four), a lion on top of the arch came to life and tore asunder the coat of arms of Valladolid, leaving only the arms of the king. This was symbolism at its crudest, conveying that the king and his interests would henceforth take priority over those of the city.

While the action itself was probably a shock to the city-dwellers viewing it, we must remember that the sentiment behind it was not as much of a surprise. That is to say, the arch and its symbolism did not appear overnight. It was designed, constructed, decorated, and installed days or even weeks in advance. Whether Soto circumvented the municipal channels completely, or whether, as I suspect, he relied on the municipal machinery while controlling it from outside the city council, the point is that the city would have been well aware that its traditional authority and agency was being undermined. This is why I have framed my study as post-Isabeline, and not post-Naples, since all these messages would have been conveyed by royal actions previous to the day of the king's procession, and not a particular aesthetic motifs displayed on the day thereof. That is to say, the most significant message—that the king was changing the terms of royal-municipal relationships—would have been received long before the king's

¹⁹⁸ One must remember that all printing had to be done with royal sanction, constituting a copyright.

arrival. The ceremony would merely have reinforced what was already painfully apparent.

The case of Valladolid is instructive in many ways. It points out that the relationship between city and monarch was constantly in flux and often ambiguous, so the ceremonies articulated them too had their ambiguities. City-dwellers rarely knew where it stood exactly, or where it could move. Of course, we can see this from hindsight. As in the case of Valladolid, townsmen did not have this benefit and instead had to use the information at their disposal. They attempted to regain the grace of the Catholic Monarchs several times, and the ceremonial interactions between the two parties were punctuated, not progressive. They acted according to immediate political circumstances, seemingly proportionate with effort and city-dwellers could be more hopeful at certain times. The more pomp exhibited, the more hopeful to impress and derive some benefit, although economic downturns could constrain the city's finances, hence the frequent formula that city's should provide celebrations "as best as can be done" (*lo mejor que se pueda fazer*)

The turning point of the change in city-monarch relationships in Castile, or for Valladolid, at least, seems to be 1509. If one recalls, the minutes of this year show numerous debates and attempts at municipal planning, which overlapped with (and probably partially subverted) the efforts of Luis de Soto. The extensive preparations show that some people in Valladolid felt there was still a possibility to improve the relationship between the city and the monarchy, especially since the city was hosting the birth of the royal child. This situation challenges the king-centric emphasis of most scholarship, since the warmest receptions actually seem to have been for the children and children-in-law of

the monarchs, probably in anticipation of a regime change. From the municipal standpoint, such occasions provided a small window of opportunity to establish or improve an advantageous relationship with an upcoming monarch. Receptions of a prince or princess could make a lasting first impression on the child and his or her tutors, as well as establish a precedent and personal rapport with the royal child. The following chapter will show how the city-monarch interactions seen in the case of Castile fall within even larger patterns seen across the Iberian Peninsula.

CHAPTER 3

THE IBERIAN CONTEXT: PORTUGAL, CASTILE, AND THE CROWN OF ARAGON

As specialists are well aware, the historiography of late medieval Iberia is splintered all too often along modern geopolitical divisions between Spain and Portugal and according to regional designations, with scholars of Spain tending to study either Castile or the Crown of Aragon.¹⁹⁹ Nowhere is this more evident than in the study of ceremonial receptions,²⁰⁰ which renders our understanding of the Iberian forms of these events difficult for a variety of reasons. First, the situation perpetuates modern notions current political geography as if it were valid for the Middle Ages, reinforcing anachronistic notions about what is “Spanish” or “Portuguese.” Second, the sovereigns of each of the several kingdoms of medieval Iberia were in a state of almost constant travel, moving from city to city, and often from one kingdom to another. This was particularly true with regard to royal betrothals and wedding ceremonies, which by definition involved the travel of a king, queen, prince, or princess from one kingdom to another, perhaps traveling through a third kingdom to reach their destination. Thus, the study of each kingdom independently does not reflect the true patterns of travel and communication linking them.

¹⁹⁹ The smaller kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula such as Galicia, Navarre, Valencia, and Granada, receive even less attention, remaining truly the purview of a few dedicated specialists. The Crown of Aragon consisted of territories on both sides of the Pyrenees. Thus, while it is slightly artificial to study this composite kingdom only as it existed within the Iberian Peninsula, the scope of a dissertation has forced me to limit the geographical extent of my study.

²⁰⁰ Such receptions were largely a product of royal itinerancy, since the monarchs lacked a fixed capital until the mid-sixteenth century. Instead, monarchs travelled between a network of primary and secondary royal palaces (usually located in major cities, not rural estates) while supplementing their lodging with stays in monasteries and private houses of the most important people in a given locality.

Despite the utility that a pan-Iberian perspective could provide by capturing important developments and inter-kingdom ties that would otherwise be lost, scholarly inquiry along these lines has been infrequent. Least frequent of all has been the scholarship that compares Portugal and other Hispanic kingdoms has been even less frequent.²⁰¹ The scholarship that has sought to treat the ceremonial receptions in both Castile and the Crown of Aragon has a limited scope. Even the most thorough treatment to date ceremonial practices within the Hispanic kingdoms, ostensibly examining the whole house of Trastámara, in reality it only focuses on the case of Castile, leaving out the Aragonese branch of the dynasty.²⁰²

The discussions that have attempted a comparison in earnest have tended toward essentialism or universalism. At one end of the scale, recent discussions of ceremonial receptions have centered on the presence or absence of two specific practices: formal oaths performed by the monarchs to uphold the rights and privileges of a city before entering it, and the ceremonial presentation of keys to the monarch by city magistrates. María Pilar Monteagudo suggests that the crucial difference between the Castilian model and that of the Crown of Aragon was that the former had key ceremonies but lacked oaths

²⁰¹ One exception to this is the work by Rita Costa Gomes, including her articles: “A Realeza: Símbolos e Cerimonial,” in *A Génesis do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medieval (séculos XIII a XV)*, ed. A. L. Carvalho Homem and M. H. Coelho (Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma, 1999), 201-213; “Cerimónias da realeza nos fins da Idade Média. A propósito de um livro recente,” *Penélope* 14 (1994): 129-136; “Places of Royal Power: Royal Residences and Landscape in Medieval Iberia,” *Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 10, no. 1 (2000): 36-38; “Sobre a Festa e o Rito, na Corte Portuguesa,” *Cadernos do Noroeste* IX, no. 2, special issue on A Festa – Estudos Interdisciplinares (1996): 9-22. The scope of a dissertation precludes me from including the cases of the other Christian kingdoms, Galicia, Navarre, Valencia, let alone the Muslim kingdom of Granada.

²⁰² José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1993). Both kingdoms came to be governed by members of the Trastámaran family when, after Martin I had died without an heir in 1410, the Castilian Fernando de Trastámara was elected in 1412, by virtue of the *Compromiso de Caspe*, to become Fernando I, king of Aragon. Miguel Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona,” *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130, esp. 92-93.

by the monarchs.²⁰³ Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado disagrees, stating that key ceremonies were of very late origin, and probably of Aragonese influence in any case, and that Castilian monarchs swore oaths during times of crisis and in times of “monarchic exaltation.”²⁰⁴ At the other end of the scale, an influential article by Rosana de Andrés Díaz has led many to conclude that the ceremonial receptions of Castile and the Crown of Aragon were generally equivalent.²⁰⁵ While the article is very useful overall, at times the author generalizes about practices in one kingdom by citing evidence from another. Such is her discussion on the practices of gift giving, in which she maintains the practice was standard in Castile, whereas in reality it was not.

The original documents regarding ceremonial receptions complicate current kingdom-based, isolationist models. The sources make it clear that the monarchs of each kingdom kept themselves well informed of their neighboring monarchs’ affairs. They learned such information by their own personal travel, as well as the news circulated by personal agents, chronicles and pamphlets, merchants and ambassadors, and by correspondence. Beyond these common patterns of travel and communication, the political fates of each Iberian kingdom were intimately tied to that of the others through marriage, succession (or lack thereof), and warfare.

²⁰³ María Pilar Monteagudo Robledo, “Fiesta y poder. Aportaciones historiográficas al estudio de los ceremonias políticas en su desarrollo histórico,” *Pedralbes. Revista d’Historia Moderna* 15 (1991): 173-204, esp. 184.

²⁰⁴ Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, “La ceremonia de entrada real: ¿Un modelo castellano?” in *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico: Siglos XIII-XV*. [Quintas] Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval, Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003 (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, Servicio de Imprenta, 2006), 651-656, esp. 655.

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Rosana de Andrés Díaz’s discussion on gifts (*dávidas*) in her influential article, “Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época,” *En la España medieval*, IV (1984): 46-62, esp. 51. Here, she marks this practice as a matter of course, supposedly occurring immediately after the initial exchange of pleasantries and oaths between the royal and municipal parties.

For instance, after Fernando of Antequera of Castile was crowned as Fernando I of Aragon in 1412, the monarchs of Castile and the Crown of Aragon came to form parallel branches of the same House of Trastámara. This situation caused no small amount of warfare in succeeding generations, when—much like the situation that instigated the Hundred Years War between France and England—each branch of the dynasty held legal, feudo-vassalry, and titular claims in the territory of the other.²⁰⁶ The fates of Castile and Aragon were further yoked together when their respective branches of the dynasty were reunited—however nominally—with the marriage of Fernando II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile. This union would last from 1469 until Isabel’s death in 1504.

Because ceremonial receptions served to articulate the relationship between sovereigns and subjects, their study reveals just how complicated such relationships could be. For example, in 1487 King Fernando informed his subjects in one kingdom (residents of Barcelona, in the Crown of Aragon) of a ceremonial reception occurring in another kingdom (residents of Burgos, in Castile).²⁰⁷ The ties between the two kingdoms are manifest not only because the young woman involved was a princess in both (*princesa de Castella y de Aragón*), but also because the king asked his subjects in one kingdom, Aragon, to respond to a ceremonial reception in the other, Castile, and to pray for the marital success of the couple, as well as the prosperity of their heirs. That is to say, ceremonies formed the intersection of administrative, dynastic, and personal affairs.

²⁰⁶ William D. Phillips, Jr., *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth-Century Castile, 1425-1480* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978).

²⁰⁷ Burgos, 7 April 1487, Lletres reials originals, IX, ser. A-6, num. 1885, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona. The ceremonial reception in question was provided by Burgos to Fernando’s daughter. Unfortunately, the letter does not identify the daughter by name, although María de Aragon (1482-1517) is known to have become the abbess of Pedralbes monastery. Antonio Balasch Torrel, “Una princesa en el monasterio de Pedralbes,” *Divulgación Histórica de Barcelona* X (1959) 5-54.

Such complicated scenarios remind us that, whereas each kingdom formed its own center, they also overlapped to form part of a greater Iberian world. The best practice, therefore, for studying the Iberian kingdoms, the use of an approach that considers all the kingdoms together as part of a system, using a model that takes into account “geo-proximal influence.” This model that I have developed is based on the premise that, weighing all things equally, those states within closest geographic proximity will likely have the strongest influence on one another. Phrased another way, studying the conditions of a kingdom’s nearest neighbors can help to elucidate the conditions of the kingdom in question. This is not to say that the kingdom in question did not interact with other places, but that its interactions with those closest to home would be more frequent and thus more influential. For example, Castile would tend to interact more frequently with Portugal or the Crown of Aragon rather than with Poland or Ukraine. Consequently, events in Portugal and the Crown of Aragon, as states peripheral to Castile, would be likely to shed light on the occurrences in the center, in this case Castile. This method not only stands to provide a more nuanced and complete vision of the differences and similarities from one region late-medieval Iberia to the next, but it would also facilitate a reassessment of what characteristics are truly paradigmatic, and which scholarly models need to be reevaluated.

The fundamental premise behind this approach has been employed, to a lesser extent, by Walter Eder in an article in a compilation of essays concerning social struggle in Archaic Rome. He discusses the “principle of concentric circles,” which he defines as a situation where “the chances of detecting mutual contacts and influences are especially good in those areas where the imaginary circles of influence, centered in the areas under

comparison, touch or overlap each other.”²⁰⁸ In other words, Eder suggests a general principle for using comparative history, whereby in seeking to understand the origin of a phenomenon, it is most beneficial to look first to the immediate neighborhood, not farther afield. The farther away something is, the less likely it was the impetus or cause for the phenomenon under investigation. While Eder’s model was only concerned with the dynamics between Metropole and colonies (a single center-periphery system), I propose a multi-dimensional model that assesses geo-proximal influence. That is to say, rather than looking only one center and concentric circles, my model includes several centers, each with their own spheres of influence. In short, I argue in favor of a multiple centers-peripheries model that helps to learn several things at once. It allows us to learn what was truly distinctive about multiple kingdoms (the particulars of each center), each serving as a control group for the others. It also helps us see what was common to each kingdom (the universals of the overlapping circles). Most importantly, though, it allows us to explore the relationship between these two data sets—the similarities and the differences—to arrive at truths about the system itself.

Although there is a substantial municipal source base detailing some ceremonial receptions in Castile, there are lacunae where documents have been destroyed over the years, such as the large cache of municipal documents that were sold off illegally in seventeenth-century Toledo, mentioned above.²⁰⁹ However, patterns of such data can be

²⁰⁸ Walter Eder, “The Political Significance of the Codification of Law in Archaic Societies: An Unconventional Hypothesis,” *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 262-300, esp. 270.

²⁰⁹ Teresa Álvarez Gómez-Escalonilla and Gabriel García-Largo Sánchez-Heredero, “Los Libros de Acuerdos Municipales de Toledo y las fiestas de la traslación de la Virgen del Sagrario. Los apaños de un sofíel y un cohetero,” *Archivo secreto. Revista cultural de Toledo* 3 (2006): 169-171.

come into relief by comparing documentation from the kingdoms nearest to Castile: Portugal and the Crown of Aragon.

This is not only enormously useful, but also essential to understanding the workings of the ceremonial receptions of Castile. Because tackling a full range of comparative topics in one chapter would be impossible, this chapter will cover a limited number of comparisons, exploring how the overlapping schema of geo-proximal influence manifested in each of the kingdoms. It will explore the influence that the kingdoms of Portugal and the Crown of Aragon, as periphery, exerted on Castile—manifested a west-to-east gradient evident among multiple axes. It will also examine Iberia as part of a larger north-to-south gradient from northern Europe to Northern Africa. The following discussion seeks to provide a more holistic approach, not only by comparing the cases of Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon along multiple lines of inquiry, and thereby expanding the scope of the analysis, but also by asking questions of degree, rather than of kind. By moving beyond yes/no questions about whether a practice was present or not, I will examine the subtleties of both differences and similarities among the Iberian kingdoms. In so doing, I hope to illustrate what ceremonial receptions can teach us about the societies of each kingdom, and how their geo-proximity can illustrate and add nuance to the exploration of the full nature of ceremonial reception.

I will begin by exploring similarities between the kingdoms, those universals that were in common, which will serve as our first data set. Because of the constraints of space, I will limit myself to a few fundamental elements tied to the patterns of mind

underlying the events and to differences in tax structures among the three kingdoms.²¹⁰

At the most basic level, the three kingdoms shared a common peninsular heritage and the experience of the reconquest of the peninsula from the Muslims. During the medieval centuries, the kings and queens of each kingdom were in a state of almost incessant travel, moving from city to city, as circumstances and finances dictated. Medieval Castile had no capital city. Although the city of Burgos was often styled as “head of Castile” (*cabeza de Castilla*), this was more title than reality, especially once the political center of gravity shifted southward with reconquest and, after 1492, the southern ports came to be used for communication with the Americas. The Crown of Aragon also lacked a capital, in the modern sense of a unified centralized point for the coordination of all high-level information and governance. Certain cities had primacy in certain governmental functions, such as the ceremonial crowning in Zaragoza, but Barcelona and Valencia also had important claims on the monarch’s attention. Portugal came closest to having a capital in Lisbon, but other Portuguese cities vied for importance as well.

A second common feature with implications for ceremonial receptions in all three kingdoms was that the receiving cities all faced constraints of space, finance, and manpower. At the same time, they tried to project a positive image of their urban identity and to preserve and enhance their standing with the crown. The pressures of a ceremonial

²¹⁰ Most scholarship has focused on the function of royal entries from the royal point of view, citing propaganda and legitimization. For the main exponent of this perspective, see Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza*. An outspoken opponent of the “functionalist model” is Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), although most scholars find his critique overly nihilistic and defeatist. I intend to explore function from the municipal perspective below in a chapter on “The Politics of Royal Entries,” since the archival sources make it very clear that cities hosted these events because they believed they offered many benefits; thus, they had a purpose.

reception could easily exacerbate tensions that already existed in a hosting city, with rival political factions vying for advantage, not to mention competition from rival cities.

Another similarity among all the Iberian kingdoms was the diversity of their populations, especially in the urban context. Unlike the rest of Europe, where the population was mostly Christian, the kingdoms of medieval Iberia had sizable populations of Northern Africans, which was predominantly Muslim, as well as Jews. Toward the end of the period under review, these minorities came to be segregated into their own quarters or neighborhoods. For most of the period, though, the Christian kings of Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon essentially ruled over three coexisting societies—the dominant Christian community, and the two minorities. As Rita Costa Gomes has noted for Portugal, “the ‘royal entry’ was, in effect, a complex ceremony normally comprised of three distinct moments. The first was the solemn encounter—at five or two leagues, consonant to the cases—between the monarch and the civic authorities, who were accompanied by representatives from the Jewish and Moorish communities ([wherever] they existed).”²¹¹ In cities that hosted ceremonial receptions, representatives from the two minority religions participated, such as the example presented by the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez mentioned above, which tells us that the receiving parties in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia included Jews and Moors.²¹²

The municipal records of Castile also testify to the presence of religious minorities. In 1379, the city magistrates of Burgos ordered municipal agents to notify the

²¹¹ Rita Costa Gomes, “A Visita do Rei à Guarda, em Meados do Século XV,” in *Colóquio Comemorativo dos 800 Anos da Cidade da Guarda- Praça Velha* (Guarda: Câmara Municipal, 2000), 117-128, esp. 120.

²¹² “En el dicho año de 1481 fueron el Rey Don Fernando é la Reina Doña Isabel con toda su córte á Aragon, Cataluña y Valencia, á ser recibidos por Reyes é Señores de la tierra, é tomar posesion de aquellos Reynos é Condado de Barcelona... donde les hicieron muy solemnes recibimientos, é dieron muy grandes presentes é dádivas, asi los Concejos de las ciudades, como los caballeros é mercaderes, é los judios, é los moros sus vasallos.” Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, ch. 46, 603.

Moors and Jews of the area to present themselves at the reception of the royal party, with joyous demonstrations (*alegrías*).²¹³ The 1497 reception of Princess Margarita of Austria saw a similar mandate, although, being after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, the call was only made to the area's Moorish populations.²¹⁴ Notice that each delegation seems to have performed a separate reception of the monarch, which implies that the monarch made a separate pact with each segment of society. It is not only the redundancy of these ceremonies that sets them apart from ceremonial receptions elsewhere in Europe, but also the attitudes and patterns of mind that lay behind them. The Iberians seem to have viewed their society, and their personal relationship to it, differently from people living in other parts of Europe, and their views were embodied in the ceremonies of reception in which they participated.

Also similar were the basic protocols and interactions between city and monarch. On the royal side, the kings and queens of all three kingdoms would inform a given city of their plans to arrive. The royal party might be large (perhaps about 100 persons), but it might be relatively small. Such was the case when King Fernando arrived in Barcelona in 1481 with "little *cortege*."²¹⁵ Often, after having traveled for several days or weeks, the royal party would approach the vicinity of the city, resting for a day or two at a nearby

²¹³ "Otrosi mandaron... que bayan a los moro e a los judio que fagan alegrias." 17 July 1379, Libro de Actas, 1379, f. 83r, Archivo Municipal de Burgos,

²¹⁴ "Dixeron los dichos señores que por las alegrias de la venida de la señora Prinçesa mandan quel dia de Pascua primero salgan con sus danças todos los ofiçios desta Villa e, asimismo, el terçero dia de Pascua e quel lunes de Pascua se corran tres toros e que se notifique a los moros e se pregone." 17 March 1497, *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 295.

²¹⁵ Fernando arrived at Barcelona a few days earlier (Monday, 18 June 1481) with only a small party (*poca comitiva*). P.B., *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 17.

monastery before formally entering the urban precinct. In Burgos, the favored rest stop was often Las Huelgas, in Barcelona it was the monastery of Valldoncella.²¹⁶

The day of the ceremony, a delegation of municipal officials left the city (usually with a group of other city-dwellers following) to receive the monarch some distance outside the city walls. Usually only a small number of the urban officials interacted directly with the monarch, since in large cities the political hierarchy could be substantial. For instance, the municipal party sent by Barcelona to receive King Fernando consisted of two large municipal bodies: the Diputados and the Consellers de Cent (composed of five *consejeros* and 100 *jurados*).²¹⁷ Iberian practice in all three kingdoms involved similar delegations making an initial gesture of deference to the monarch with a kiss on the royal hands. Such a custom had clear symbolic value and was probably descended from the *proskynesis* customs of the ancient Middle East.²¹⁸ The major difference is that the ancient customs involved kissing the feet of a monarch, which required the kisser to genuflect and prostrate himself in order to reach them. Still, the kiss has been one of the predominant gestures of intimacy in Western culture for millennia. In the medieval centuries, kisses between vassals and lords accompanied oaths of fealty. In fact, the act was so important in Castile that a literary version of it was incorporated as standard formula used in letters sent to the monarch, which read, “I kiss the hands of Your Grace” (*beso las manos de Vuestra Merced*).

²¹⁶ For Barcelona, see: “Partió la Reyna de Molins de Rey con intención de dormir aquella noche en el monasterio de Valldoncella extramuros de la ciudad.” *Ibid.*, 19.

²¹⁷ P.B., *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 17.

²¹⁸ James D. Tracy, “An Element in the Liturgy of Great-Kingship: *Proskynesis* from Persepolis to the Sublime Porte” (paper delivered at the conference on Imperial Identity: Construction and extension of Cultural Community in the Early Modern World, held at the University of Minnesota, November 2004).

In Portugal, municipal ordinances prescribed that the person delivering the welcome speech (*arenga*) at ceremonial receptions would, “upon finishing, approach to kiss the hands of the mentioned lords.”²¹⁹ In the Crown of Aragon, one also finds the custom. A curious twist occurred during the reception of Isabel of Castile into Barcelona in 1481. The city had supported her rival during the civil war for the crown of Castile. The purpose of the reception was, therefore, to mend relations between the city’s newly acknowledged king, Isabel’s husband Fernando. He was present at the event as well, but the emphasis in the municipal documents is clearly on the city’s ceremonial interactions with the queen. Someone recording the event, almost certainly an eyewitness, made it a point to indicate that the Consellers “remain[ed] atop their mules without dismounting [as they] performed homage and kissed the hands of Her Majesty.”²²⁰ While this might simply have been common custom in Barcelona, the precise commentary suggests that it was not. Because the author chose to mention this, he seems to stress the act’s importance.²²¹ It seems likely that Barcelona’s representatives were making a symbolic statement, using the traditional ceremonial kiss as a platform to express it. Rather than dismounting and being lower than the mounted queen, the party from Barcelona chose to remain on her level. This presumably conveyed that, while they had finally acknowledged her status as queen of Castile and queen-consort of the Crown of Aragon,

²¹⁹ “em acabando, irá beijar as mãos aos ditos senhores.” *Livro I da Correa*, 280-282.

²²⁰ “Consellers, y permaneciendo á caballo sin echar pie á tierra, se acercaron á la Señora Reyna.” P.B., *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 19.

²²¹ The author mentions horses, mules, and mounted parties (*cabalgada*) five or six times. P.B., *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 19-20.

the Veguer, Bailiff, and Consellers would not abase themselves beyond “bowing, almost [lying] down on the necks of their mounts.”²²²

These ceremonial customs were not drawn out of thin air, nor were they dictated by the monarch, although some Portuguese monarchs micromanaged the process more than their counterparts. In general, throughout the three Iberian kingdoms municipal agents were in charge of ceremonial memory. These agents would oversee municipal preparations for the ceremonial reception proper, selecting rhetorically advantageous protocol according to the particular political circumstances. The economic and political aspects of these preparations were complicated enough to warrant their own chapters of analysis, which follow. For now, it will suffice to say that the process was conducted by various committees that coordinated prolific external communications between the city and the king, as well as internal communications between the city administration and merchants, laborers, and artisans. The particular structure of municipal governments varied somewhat, causing the responsibilities to be distributed differently, especially before 1500. After this date and into the mid-sixteenth century, the duties for municipal offices tended to become standardized and codified, almost certainly by royal initiative. While in previous centuries the duties were either passed down orally, read aloud in chambers, or written rather informally in the minutes of the city council, over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries many city governments commissioned handbooks detailing the duties of various offices.²²³

²²² “el Veguer y Baile y despues los Conselleres por su órden tambien, inclinándose hasta casi el cuello de sus mulas, haciendo reverencia, y besando la mano á S. M.” Ibid., 19.

²²³ For an early list of the duties that *corregidores* were sworn to uphold in Madrid, see the minutes for 20 April 1491, *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 267-269. The duties of this official and many others were recapitulated every few years, usually coinciding with the appointment of new people to

Urban leaders in all three kingdoms shared a general conception of the primary purpose for hosting events as expensive as ceremonial receptions: to serve as an external expression of a city's joy and happiness at being the center of the kingdom, if only temporarily.²²⁴ The presence of the monarch within a city created a solemn yet festive atmosphere, which called for a temporary cessation of the ordinary. City magistrates ordered townsmen to cease all manner of work, sometimes for up to four days or more, and generally, to treat the whole period "as if it were a solemn day," that is to say a holiday, or literally, a holy day.²²⁵ Additionally, such manifestations of joy served as public expressions of honor, both for the monarch and the city. Royal correspondence to the cities after such events frequently mentions the honor they provided the monarch by hosting ceremonial receptions, while internal municipal documents likewise convey a notion that such occasions "contribute to the honor of the city."²²⁶

the various offices. That is to say, they most often appear to be municipal *ordines*, or scripts of the actual oaths used during induction ceremonies. For Segovia, see the handbook (yr. 1611) written by councilman Francisco Ariars de Verastigui: "Costumbres de Segovia y sus preheminençias y Iuridiction," Libro Verde, Legajo 604-2, Archivo Municipal de Segovia, especially the various paragraphs involving specific ceremonial duties.

²²⁴ Such sentiments are made explicit in the following comments: "in order to demonstrate happiness and joy" : "per mostrar alegria e jocunditat." Manual de Consells, núm. 38 A, fol. 89, transcribed in Carreres Zacarés, *Fiestas celebradas en Valencia*, doc. XXXI, d, 137-138; "demonstrations and festivals and pleasures and happiness" : "demostraciones e fiestas e plazer e alegría." Libros de Actas, 1506, f. 200r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid. Both of these instances refer to festivities held to celebrate royal accomplishments from afar, but similar comments can be found for ceremonial receptions of royalty proper.

²²⁵ "com si fos dia solemne." Manual de Consells, núm. 39 A, fols. 147 v and forward, transcribed in Carreres Zacarés, *Fiestas celebradas en Valencia*, appendix, doc. XXXII c, 140. For work prohibitions, see comments like those for the 1324 reception of Infante Alfonso (the future Alfonso III the Good, of Aragon) into Barcelona, when citizens were instructed "that for those two days no man nor woman is to openly work... and let them celebrate and be joyous and happy for the fortunate arrival of the mentioned lord Infante" : "que aquells dos dies nuyll hom ne nuylla fembra no gos tenir obrador obert ne taula parado ... e fassen festa e agen goig e alegria del benaventurat aveniment del dit senyor infant." Llibre del Consell, VII, f. 31 v, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, partially transcribed in "Raufast Chico, ¿Un mismo ceremonial?," 104, n. 55.

²²⁶ "cumpre à honra da cidade." *Livro I da Correa*, 282.

Establishing the proper atmosphere for a ceremonial reception extended beyond words and gestures, however. The citizens of all three kingdoms shared similar concerns and anxieties when preparing for a ceremonial reception, trying to convey just the right message. Many of the municipal ordinances promulgated in connection with ceremonial receptions centered on sanitation and decoration in their various forms. Streets where the royal entourage was to pass were cleaned, unsightly defects in streets and buildings were repaired, and many facades of buildings were given a fresh coat of whitewash.²²⁷

Normally, such preparations were paid for by the citizens living along the processional route.²²⁸ The city magistrates sent out town criers to inform the citizens of their obligations, specifying how long they had to perform these actions and issuing orders such as, “have the town squares and streets of this city cleaned, so that it be completely clean for the ceremonial reception.”²²⁹ Clearly, city officials did not expect all citizens or inhabitants of outlying areas to comply with these orders simply out of a sense of civic duty, so they bolstered them with coercive measures such as fines and threats of property confiscation.

In all three kingdoms one finds frequent and repeated promulgations of municipal ordinances enjoining improved sanitation, which calls into question the very

²²⁷ See, for example, the orders to “have the town squares and streets of this city cleaned, so that it be completely clean for the reception of our lady, the Princess” : “hazer linpiar las plaças e calles desta villa para la aver de tener toda linpia, para el resçibimiento de la sennora prinçesa.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 84. Such sanitation and repair was to be undertaken and paid for by the citizens surrounding a particular area, although, since it was in the city’s interests—as a whole—to see them executed, poverty or other extenuating circumstances could occasion them to be covered by municipal funds and labor.

²²⁸ Since it was in the city’s best interests to see that these measures were undertaken, poverty or other extenuating circumstances could occasion the urban magistrates to use to municipal funds and labor to cover the expenses. Still, the magistrates used municipal resources only as a last resort.

²²⁹ “hazer linpiar las plaças e calles desta villa para la aver de tener toda linpia, para el resçibimiento de la sennora prinçesa.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 84.

effectiveness of such prescriptive measures. Before modern waste collection practices and piped sewers, of course, there would have been much to clean up. The magistrates of Portugal were particularly concerned with improving city sanitation, because of public health concerns, and also because poor sanitation was “very unseemly.” A typical ordinance reads:

Because we are informed that in the area of the slaughter houses... there is always much uncleanness in the form of dirty water and refuse [?], which seems to be very poor practice and is not in the interests of the slaughterers... we order that no one, of any social station whatsoever, dare to order the dumping of trash, nor water, nor any other form of refuse in the town square... under penalty of 200 Reis per offense.²³⁰

Even harsher was the ordinance of this same city council of Coimbra to counter the “discourteousness that certain men and teenage boys [cause by] doing their deeds in plain sight on the steps... of city hall.”²³¹ The euphemism of “doing their deeds” purposefully obscures the exact actions of said perpetrators, but the context implies public urination or defecation, since the penalties enacted to combat these deeds was very harsh. Henceforth, it was declared, “any man, youngster, or slave found there doing his deeds is to be arrested, made to pay 1000 Reis to the person who accused him, and spend four days in the stocks.”²³²

²³⁰ “Porque fomos informados que na testada dos açougues, junto das grades de fora, está sempre muita sujidade de água suja [e] cisco, o que parece muito mal e tolhe a serventia dos ditos açougues, para se haver de tomar de fora o pescado, acordamos que nenhuma pessoa, de qualquer qualidade que seja, deite nem mande deitar cisco, nem água, nem outra nenhuma sujidade na Praça, defronte das grades do dito açougue sob pena de pagar cada vez duzentos reis. E os jurados serão obrigados de fazer limpar a dita testada, em maneira que esteja sempre limpa, sob pena de se limpar à sua custa.” *Livro I da Correa*, 50-51.

²³¹ “descortesia que os homens e moços faziam em virem fazer seus feitos na escada por onde entram para a Câmara desta cidade e audiência do juiz.” *Ibid.*, 238.

²³² “qualquer homem ou mancebo ou escravo que aí fôr achado fazer seus feitos seja prêso e da cadeia pague mil reis para quem o acusar e jaza quatro dias na cadeia.” *Livro I da Correa*, 238. The conversion between Portuguese *Reis* and Castilian *maravedís* are complicated, fluctuating with each economic vicissitude just as with modern currencies. Still, the general equivalency seems to be on the order of 1.33 *Reis* : 1 *maravedís*. To arrive at this estimate, I used data from Peter Spufford’s *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), although it should be pointed out that one of the work’s weak points is precisely its sparse data on Portuguese currencies. I have used the common

Beyond the beautification provided by sanitation, there was the act of decoration. The facades along processional routes were adorned with textiles and tapestries, branches, and flowers.²³³ Especially popular were draperies and decorative canopies, which tended to mark ceremonial focal points and thoroughfares along the processional route for the monarch and city-dwellers, as they alternated between the roles of performer and spectator.²³⁴ Thus, these textiles served a practical purpose of orienting semiotic expectations. For the 1481 ceremonial reception of Fernando and Isabel into Barcelona, the “councilors, in order to show due pomp... ordered the construction of a large platform in the square of the Friars Minor... and had it draped with cloth, placing runners a bit further out than the middle of the square [along with] barriers so that the guilds could parade past with their flags and performances without being trampled by the horses.”²³⁵

Like the guilds’ flags, the municipal standard was an important portable symbol of the city, and another object of adornment used by the receiving city. The standard was an item important enough to generate a permanent position of municipal standard-bearer (*alferez*) in several large cities across all three kingdoms. Such a position was considered very important, not only during ceremonial receptions of royalty, but also for any

denominator of 1 venetian *ducat* per 300 or 350 *Reis* (ave. 325), and 1 venetian *ducat* per 230-260 maravedís (ave. 245) for the years 1464-1466, pp. 158 and 162 respectively.

²³³ Vicente Lleó Cañal, “Recibimiento ... del Rey Fernando (1508),” 11, n. 9.

²³⁴ In fact, the prominence of draping textiles has left its trace in several European languages. In Castilian, a jousting field was often called a “tela,” being associated with the cloth covering the barrier that ran between the two contestants. Similarly, the French term for flag is “drapeau,” derived from the notion that the cloth is draped or hanging.

²³⁵ “Conselleres para agasajarla bien, ejecutando lo deliberado, mandaron levantar un gran cadafalco en la plaza de Frailes Menores en la forma acostumbrada frente la casa de Moncada, y le hicieron entoldar, colocando entenas hasta mas de media plaza y poniendo en ella barreras para que las cofradias pudiesen pasar con sus banderas y mogigangas sin pisoteo de las caballerias.” P.B. *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 18.

occasion when the city had to be represented. The details and duties of the standard-bearer included “carry[ing] the city flag wherever, in the name of the city, the city council decides and commands him to carry it... be it in service of The King Our Lord, or for an occasion of honor and profit of the city.”²³⁶ The most frequently obligatory occasions that the municipal standard bearers had to attend were Corpus Christi, other religious festivals (especially that of the city’s patron saint), and occasions of service to the king, either when he was nearby and needing an escort, or when the city was obliged to participate in a royally sponsored military campaign.²³⁷ The ordinances of Coimbra lay out several other miscellaneous duties, all of which the municipal standard-bearer “will not be able to excuse himself from doing... no matter what excuses he has, except if he has an illness that, having been confirmed after being seen and examined by physicians, would prevent him from performing his duties.”²³⁸

Another element of urban ornamentation, almost certainly common to all three kingdoms (although I have found specific references so far for only two of them) is the use of torches, luminaries, fireworks, and chiming bells to assault the senses with extraordinary sensations. In the Crown of Aragon, the 1491 reception into Barcelona is especially revealing. We are told that

²³⁶ “O alferzado da cidade anda com o julgado dos órfãos, anexos um ao outro pelo alferzado andar mais autorizado, o qual ofício se dá de três em três anos pela cidade. O dito alferes há-de estar sempre prestes para levar a bandeira da cidade, onde quer que a cidade, em câmara, por acôrdo escrito e assentado no livro dela, acordar e mandar que a êle leve, para qualquer parte que seja, ora seja por serviço de El-Rei Nosso Senhor, como por coisa de honra e proveito da cidade, das quais coisas se não poderá escusar de o fazer quando quer que assim cumprir, nem «dello» não será relevado por escusas que para o não fazer queira dar, salvo acertando de ser doente de tal enfermidade que seja visto e conhecido por físicos que o não poderá fazer. E doutra nenhuma guisa nem maneira não será escuso.” *Livro I da Correa*, 240-241.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 240- 241.

²³⁸ “se não poderá escusar de o fazer quando quer que assim cumprir, nem «dello» não será relevado por escusas que para o não fazer queira dar, salvo acertando de ser doente de tal enfermidade que seja visto e conhecido por físicos que o não poderá fazer” *Ibid.*, 240-241.

a group of young people walked in front of the lord king and lady queen, and when she [the queen] reached the *coll de la creu* with this illumination [before her] and much more, *bombardas* were shot from the walls of the city and fireworks were shot off. Additionally, bonfires were set ablaze atop the [nearby] hill of Monjuic, as well as in other places around the area of Barcelona, and in all the monasteries, churches...and bell towers, [maintaining all night] a grand illumination that was very beautiful.²³⁹

All of these elements seem to have been at the disposal of most cities, although they drew from them selective following the necessities of each occasion.

The sources demonstrate that city councils showed a variety of anxieties over selecting the particular mix of ceremonial elements, since the context of the combination would dictate what civic image was projected. The flurry of correspondence preceding Iberian ceremonial receptions of royalty reveals an atmosphere of what one scholar has aptly called “significant uncertainty.”²⁴⁰ While one might expect events of such political and economic import to be well organized and systematized, with processes and protocols having been worked out and passed down through the generations, this was not necessarily the case. In fact, the uncertainty and anxiety are palpable on both the royal and municipal entities involved.²⁴¹

The monarchs at times seem not to have known what to expect at a given entry, because the particular decorations, events, and persons in attendance were dictated by

²³⁹ “Estos jóvenes con las antorchas encendidas se colocaron delante del Sr. Rey y de la Sra. Reyna; y cuando esta llegó al *Coll de la Creu* con esta iluminación y muchas mas, se dispararon muchas bombardas en la muralla de la ciudad y se despidieron fuegos voladores. A mas de esto, por orden de los honorables Consellers, se encendieron hogueras en la montaña de Monjuich como y tambien en las demas alrededor del territorio de Barcelona y asimismo en todos los monasterios é Iglesias, haciéndose aquella noche grande iluminación en las almenas de la muralla de la Ciudad, empezando entre el portal de S. Pablo y el de S. Antonio hasta el de los *Tellés*, y todos los campanarios de la ciudad habia tan grande iluminación que era muy vistosa.” P.B., *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada de Isabel*, 20.

²⁴⁰ “una significativa incertidumbre.” Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 101.

²⁴¹ Any such fine-tuned protocols are still decades in the future, certainly after Fernando’s death in 1516.

local custom.²⁴² Even though the cities were often the custodians of this institutional memory, the city councils themselves were not always completely sure of how to receive a royal entourage. Showing great anxiety that they might somehow make a mistake, they often sent informants to other cities to observe and inquire what preparations and protocols had been used there. These informants were to report back to their superiors and provide information regarding the preparations seen in one city, which would then influence directly the design of a reception in another.²⁴³ An additional element of uncertainty surrounded the exact moment when the royal and municipal parties were to meet. Monarchs repeatedly inquired as to when preparations would be ready, while city magistrates repeatedly asked for a specific day and time when the monarch intended to present him- or herself. Weather, illness, and any number of other unforeseen circumstances—especially plague or warfare in one area or another—could cause the monarch to appear prematurely or, more often, after significant delays.

The uncertainty that came with festivities, where any number of things could be delayed, spurred the municipal governments to devise contingency plans to which they could resort automatically without the delays of having to return to the decision-making process. Thus, because the municipal standard-bearer “carr[ie]d] the standard... an

²⁴² This monarchic uncertainty is far more visible in the sources of the Crown of Aragon, although it was not completely absent in Castile either. See discussion of institutional memory and precedents below.

²⁴³ To provide but two examples, in 1412 the magistrates of Tarragona (in the Crown of Aragon) investigated the details of Fernando I’s entry into Tortosa earlier that year. Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 96, n. 17. Similarly, in 1502 the magistrates of Madrid “decided that, when the princes our lords have come to Segovia, Francisco of Alcalá should go there to speak with the *comendador mayor* about the form the reception should take here”: “Acordaron que Francisco d’Alcala, quando los príncipes nuestros señores vinieren a Segovia, vaya alla a hablar con el comendador mayor sobre la forma de rescibimiento que se a de hazer aqui.” *Libros de acuerdos del Concejo madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. V (1502-1515), 13. Beyond the trans-king itineraries of royals, this inter-city connectedness is another important reason why studying ceremonial receptions as parts of a system, rather than as isolated events, is so critical.

important demonstration of joy and festiveness,” the magistrates of Madrid created a contingency plan for the eventuality that he could not attend an event.²⁴⁴ Specifically, if he could not perform his duties due to illness, absence from the area, or other valid reason, the duties were to fall to “one of the councilmen, according to his seniority,” and in the very last resort to “one of the honorable citizens who has formerly served on the committee of councilmen.”²⁴⁵

Such contingency plans connote anxieties on the part of the municipal councilors regarding the possibility of unforeseen circumstances. These were particularly acute with regard to selecting the proper person to deliver the city’s welcome speech, or “arenga.” At stake was the elicitation of a positive response from the monarch and the reciprocity that could arise if the monarch favored the city. The municipal ordinances of Coimbra expressed such anxieties poignantly, stating

[the city magistrates] should always work hard to find an educated man for such an act [i.e. deliver the city’s welcome speech], someone who knows how to do it well, as merits the honor and reputation of the city; the judge and city councilmen should take great care in choosing such a person, and as soon as they have chosen him, he should practice delivering the speech in chambers secretly...he should then first deliver and rehearse the speech to the city councilors in chambers so that they can be sure that it [i.e. the speech] is as it should be. Otherwise, they will not allow such a speech to be delivered, since such an act could cause a disorder.²⁴⁶

Later, the document continues, “After everyone in the city council has decided whether such a speech is acceptable...it is to be transcribed into the book of the council, and be

²⁴⁴ “festa por fazer e a bandeira por correr que é muita parte da alegria e festa que se faz.” *Livro I da Correa*, 241.

²⁴⁵ “um dos vereadores, segundo sua ancianidade e ordem que tem de suas precedências a correrá... um dos cidadãos honrados que já serviram de vereadores na mesa.” *Ibid.*, 241.

²⁴⁶ “de lhe fazerem arenga e portanto se devem sempre de trabalhar de catar para tal acta homem letrado e tal pessoa que muito bem o saiba fazer como cumpre à honra e estado da cidade, da qual coisa o juiz e regedores em Câmara devem ter grande cuidado de escolherem a tal pessoa, e tanto que a tiverem escolhida lhe devem de dizer e praticar com ela em Câmara secretamente o fundamento que deve ter em tal arenga e depois vir dizê-la primeiro à Câmara aos oficiais sós para verem se está como cumpre e de outra maneira não consentirão que se tal arenga faça, porque fazendo-se em tal acta alguma desordem.” *Ibid.*, 281.

signed off by the judge, the officials, and the person who is to deliver it, whereupon the place of delivery will be decorated and staged.”²⁴⁷ As the sheer length of the ordinance shows, the impression that would be conveyed by the city’s welcome speech was of paramount importance. Additional measures put in place to ensure the proper projection of the municipal image, beyond those mentioned above, included having the physical environment groomed for the ceremony. Audiences foreign and domestic witnessed such events, and the cities were aware that their actions would be under heavy scrutiny. The extent of such multi-step-, multi-layered preparations highlights how acutely aware citizens were that the royal reception they hosted would shape the city’s relationship with the king, other cities, and trading partners, or any number of rival entities. Across Iberia, cities were ever conscious of the image they presented to their monarchs.

There were also strong tendencies toward improvisation, frugality, and the reuse of costly ceremonial materials throughout the Iberian kingdoms. For, while it may be said that the cities were anxious to organize a beautiful and sumptuous ceremony, they also had limited resources restricting what they could do. Civic frugality can be seen in such things as the re-use of poles for the *palio* and the flags and standards, which were very costly. The city council minutes of Madrid mention “They [i.e. the councilors] ordered disbursement to Rodrigo, painter, for 1600 *maravedís* because he painted the poles for the reception of the prince; and I am to keep the poles whenever they are pulled out [of

²⁴⁷ “E depois que por êles todos em Câmara fôr acordado que a tal arenga está bem e que assim se lhe deve de dizer e fazer farão logo assentar o traslado dela no livro da Câmara, assinado pelos juiz e oficiais e pelo que a houver de dizer e lhe ordenarão logo o lugar onde se o tal acta se há-de fazer, mandando paramentar e alcatifar onde houver de estar essa pessoa que a tal arenga houver de fazer segundo cumpre à honra da cidade.” *Livro I da Correa*, 281-282.

storage] on the day of Corpus Christi and each year.”²⁴⁸ This particular example is significant, because it shows an urban strategy to reuse a very costly item, created for use in an extra-ordinary ceremonial reception, during a yearly civic event. In effect, this achieve multiple purposes, including cutting the city’s losses and spreading their cost of ceremonial accoutrement over many years. Another example of this thrift can be inferred for Portugal. As noted above, the king ordered the urban communities to host a yearly procession and commemoration in honor of the Virgin Mar. He specified that the citizens were to “carry an image of Our Lady or some relics beneath a *palio*, where it exists, and where a *palio* does not exist, they will go without it.”²⁴⁹ Such language implies that the king knew that many communities had ready-made *palios* in storage from previous occasions.

The expensive *palios* and ceremonial uniforms seem to have been generally equivalent throughout Iberia. There probably would have been some stylistic differences that contemporary Portuguese, Castilians, and Catalans would have been aware of, such as motifs and aesthetic traditions, but the municipal sources rarely touch on such details. What they do mention are the materials and labor involved. A Portuguese example shows, for the *palio*, the use of white Damascus, taffeta, gold leaf, ribbon, and *retroz*.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ “Mandaron librar a Rodrigo, pintor, mill e seiscientos maravedis porque pinto las varas del rescibimiento del Príncipe e que queden en mi las varas para quando sacaren el Corpus e el dia del Corpus e de cada año,” 6 February 1499. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 96.

²⁴⁹ “levarão uma imagem de Nossa Senhora ou algumas relíquias debaixo do pátio onde o houver e onde não houver pátio irá sem êle e chamar-se-á todo o povo para vir à dita procissão para todos lhe darem graça e louvores por tantos bens e mercês como todos dela por seus rogos recebemos.” *Livro I da Correea*, 169.

²⁵⁰ “Mapa dos despezas que faz o concelho desta cidade com o recebimento e entrada do dito Rey.

Compraraõn-se de damasco branco para o paleo 20 covados e meyo que a 720 o covado, importou 14760 reis: de tafetá para o forro 16 cevados e meyo, a 240 reis o cevado, somou 3920: oyrio [gold] para o paleo 22 onças e 3. outavos e meya a 730 reis, 16325 reis: retroz branco para o paleo 3360: fita para elle 200 reis: feitos do paleo 3290: maij feito 1600 reis. Vestidos.

Compraraõn-se para Juis, Vereadores, Procurador, e Escrivão que foraõ as pessoas que levarão o paleo, digo os varas do paleo 42 covados de vinte dozeno para capas, e pelotes preto, e se deraõ sette

The payments for uniforms are detailed, including the varieties, cost, and amounts of cloth used to make the doublets, hats, and their linings, as well as the cost of buttons and boots used for the municipal uniforms. One important fact mentioned in this accounting is that the six people who received uniforms in Évora—the *juis*, *procurador*, *escrivão*, and three *vereadores*—were “the people who carried the *palio*.”²⁵¹ Thus, while other municipal officials were presumably in the procession, and certainly in the audience, in most instances uniforms seem only to have been given to those with direct physical contact with the *palio* and the royal party. In Seville, the distribution seems to have been more inclusive, because uniforms were given to several officials (around twelve to fifteen, apparently).²⁵² It is hard to imagine all of these people having a direct role in carrying the poles, though, since they would have tripped over one another, a type of constraint that would have affected all city organizers.

Having established various commonalities between the ceremonial receptions seen in three largest kingdoms of Iberia—Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon—I am now in the position to discuss their differences, and how the model of geo-proximal influence can orient the discussion of this second data set. To do so, I will first establish

covados a dada pessoa a razaõ o covado de 1100 reis que importou 59400 reis: mais 24 covados de setim preto para juboins da 6 pessoas, 4 covados para cada hum, a 700 reis o cavado 16400 reis: para botoins 600 reis: seis gorras pretas 1320 reis: mis 6 talabartes 4200 reis: 6 covados de tafeta para forro dos capirotos 1200 reis: 6 pares de botes 3000: a os servos 5000 reis a cada hum. Feito a 24 de Julho do anno de 1470.” Livro do Padre José Lopes de Mida, f. 112r, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal, Évora, Portugal.

²⁵¹ “foraõ as pessoas que levarã o paleo, digo os varas do paleo.” Livro do Padre José Lopes de Mida, f. 112r, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal, Évora, Portugal.

²⁵² The exact number of recipients is not explicit, but can be implied by dividing the total number of *varas* of material by the number of *varas* that each item took to make. Thus, one document showing a payment of 13,600 *maravedís* to Andrea de Odon, at 3 ^{2/3} *varas* per official, implies the presence of twelve officials: 7 January 1489, “A Andrea del Odon de çiertas sedas que se tomaron para el Señor prinçipe,” Sección XV(Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Another payment to Juan Marroquin of 83,170 *maravedís* for 77 *varas* of cloth, at 5 *varas* per official, plus 12 *varas* for two exceptionally large officials (6 *varas* each), gives a total of 15 officials: 3 January 1500, “Mandamiento de Sevilla por... receber en cuenta al mayordomo Rodrigo de Ballesteros...,” Sección XV(Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

what was unique about each of the kingdoms, that is, the multiple centers. Each of these separate kingdoms formed under varied circumstances and geographical settings. They had distinct populations, languages, cultures, and traditions, as well as different commercial and urban networks. Such distinctions may seem overly apparent, but any proper evaluation of the Iberian kingdoms as a whole must start with the basic layout of the land, the geographical setting. While the history of each kingdom was not determined entirely by its geographical circumstance—for one should not assume a position of ecological determinism—it is also true that people tend to interact with their immediate environment. Thus, Portugal, lying on the western side of the peninsula with a long coastline, tended to look westward, toward the Atlantic, and warily toward the powerful kingdom of Castile, immediately to its east. Its location meant that Portugal would tend to interact most heavily with Castile and England, rather than with Aragon or other kingdoms in the peninsula. Castile lay at the center of the Iberian Peninsula, between Portugal and Aragon. This unique positioning encouraged Castile to look both westward and eastward in oscillating fashion, depending on what political opportunities were most profitable at any given moment. Castile also had a unique maritime position, with access to the Atlantic and, by the thirteenth century, the Mediterranean. The Crown of Aragon tended to look mainly eastward toward the Mediterranean, interacting heavily with what is now southern France and western Italy and with Castile immediately to the west.

In addition to differences due to geographical positioning (and consequent orientation), each Iberian kingdom had formed under conditions related to its reconquest from the Muslims. To state the process succinctly, the Muslims conquered virtually the entire Iberian Peninsula, except for the northern fringe, in the early eighth century. The

agglomerations of territories that came to re-constitute the Christian kingdoms grew out of military conquest at the expense of Muslim territories. This Christian military reconquest involved resettlement campaigns, which led to the refoundation of cities and communities under new leadership. It was the particular circumstances of these resettlements that determined the tenor of the relationship between individual cities and their kings crystallized. In succeeding generations, even when conditions changed, traces of the original relationship would remain and were thus fundamental to the identity of each kingdom and its subjects.

The kingdom of Portugal formed very quickly during the reconquest, and its small size put its king in close proximity to his subjects.²⁵³ Relative to Castile and the Crown of Aragon, transportation and communication were facilitated by less hostile terrain and a smaller scale, making the logistics of governance more manageable. As with the case of William the Conqueror and his conquest of England in 1066, the kings of Portugal were able to build a political infrastructure from the ground up, rather than having to negotiate power as territories and cities were accumulated slowly. What was also unique in the Portuguese case was that the king only had to contend with three major cities at any one time: Lisbon and Coimbra, always the two most prominent, and a third place alternating by decade between Santarem and Évora. The scale was small enough to allow for close and effective oversight, and consequently the kings of Portugal saw relatively little contestation from the cities.

East of the kingdom of Portugal lay the expansionist kingdom of Castile. The particular circumstances of Castile's formation were quite different from those of

²⁵³ Portugal was the last kingdom to be formed and started as a frontier territory of Castile, placed under the rule of the politically astute Henrique.

Portugal. The counts, and then kings, of Castile accrued their territories in fits and starts over time. During their acquisitions, the logistics of their rulership became more and more unwieldy, hindered not only by the relatively large scale of their territories, but also by the general lack of navigable rivers and highly varied and often hostile terrain; both of these slowed communication and transport. By necessity, the kings of Castile had to delegate many governmental functions to regional and local powers, including the military orders, bishops, high magnates, castellans, frontier commanders (*adelantados*), and—most relevant to our discussion—several large and powerful cities. Early in the kingdom's history, the kings of Castile had to contend with the cities of Oviedo and León in the north of the peninsula, which were well entrenched and with long independent cultural and political identities, formed centuries before Castile ever existed.

As the reconquest of land from the Muslims moved farther south, the kings of Castile came to control an enormous expanse of territory from the Bay of Biscay in the North to the area near Gibraltar in the South. Because of the scale of the kingdom and the need for regional and local rule, in the north and central parts of the peninsula Castilian cities were often able to negotiate a foundational charter that gave them substantial power at the local level. Such cities included Burgos, Segovia, Valladolid, and Toledo, all of which came to be major commercial and administrative centers. The cities in the south of the peninsula, including Seville, Córdoba, and eventually Granada, had ancient roots, legacies, and infrastructures that were fully formed at the time of their incorporation into the Castilian kingdom. Townspeople of those cities were less dependent on the king for protection, and were thus able to establish something of a flexible power dynamic

between themselves and their king, which at times could be uneasy and unstable.²⁵⁴

Whereas Castile interacted heavily with both Portugal and the Crown of Aragon, as will be discussed below, its ceremonial receptions and the patterns of mind behind them were much more akin to the Portuguese model than to the Aragonese. Additionally, Castile had the unique circumstance of having direct contiguous contact with a Muslim territory far longer than its neighbors to the West and East.

The eastern Crown of Aragon was a confederacy of various territories, accrued over the course of several centuries, under the aegis of one king. At its height of power, it came to include the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, and Naples, as well as the county of Catalonia, the duchies of Neopatria and of Athens, the islands of Sicily, Malta, and Sardinia, and parts of Provence.²⁵⁵ In this composite kingdom, cities had an even stronger position *vis-à-vis* the kings and counts of Aragon and Catalonia than did city-dwellers in Castile with their king. Several important cities in the region, including Barcelona, Zaragoza, Lérida, Tortosa, and Vich had their roots in the Spanish March, an administrative and military apparatus created by the Carolingians. Many of them, of course, had initial foundations in antiquity, serving as *entrepôts* for Phoenicians and Greeks, but it was their refoundation in the seventh century as part of the Carolingian Empire (if but nominally) that served as the legacy that shaped their position during the period under review. The extraordinarily far-flung and unwieldy nature of the Carolingian empire virtually assured that the regions of Aragon and Catalonia would

²⁵⁴ For environmental changes associated with conquest see Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

²⁵⁵ See Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983 [1975]), 429, 545, 577, 623, and especially 591-592, which lay out much of the Crown of Aragon's administrative structure.

become independent at an early date. In essence, the cities of the region outlived their Carolingian overlords. While the cities were not the only centers of power in the region—indeed, the counts and bishops of Barcelona acquired enormous power and influence, even north of the Pyrenees—they were able to position themselves as key players. This held true even as the Aragonese kings embarked on colonial enterprises in the Mediterranean during the last centuries of the reconquest wars. The best known of these enterprises were the Aragonese forays into the Balearic Islands (1229-1232, under King Jaume I), and the conquest of Naples in 1442 under King Alfonso V.²⁵⁶

In short, the relationship between cities and their sovereign tended to be of a different character in medieval Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon, a product of both geography and history. The general west-to-east gradient ranged from Portugal, with a power dynamic in which the king was in a position to dictate terms to important cities, to Castile, where cities and kings were on roughly similar footing through the end of the fifteenth century, to the Crown of Aragon, where cities usually kept the upper hand in their negotiations with the crown.

At the macroscopic level, each city's role in a ceremonial reception was defined by its urban identity and agency. At the microscopic level, the relative power of the entities within each city contributed both to the city's identity and its agency. Particularly important in most cities were the guilds. These can be considered an urban phenomenon, existing as they did with headquarters in the cities, even if the particular dealings of a certain group of professionals took them frequently outside the city limits, such as wool

²⁵⁶ O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 341-342, and Tess Knighton and Carmen Morte García, "Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119-163, respectively.

merchants or those involved in transportation.²⁵⁷ Given their local importance, the guilds often represented their host city in diplomatic, commercial, religious, and cultural affairs. Indeed, their participation in ceremonial receptions seems usually to have been mandatory.

The municipal documentation shows an increase from west to east in the presence of guilds within the municipal power structures. In Portugal and Castile, members of the professional guilds did participate in ceremonial receptions, although their roles are a bit shadowy and their voices muted. By contrast, in the Crown of Aragon the actions of guilds and their members are prominent throughout the municipal documentation, allowing Miguel Raufast Chico to write a substantial article on the subject, something that would be impossible for Portugal or Castile.²⁵⁸ Since professional guilds embodied in many ways what was urban, the differences in the prominence of the guilds can be taken as a reflection of how city-dwellers of each kingdom saw themselves in relation to their kings.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ For a newer interpretation of the medieval guild see Derek Keene, “English Urban Guilds, c. 900-1300: The Purposes and Politics of Association,” in *Guilds and association in Europe, 900-1900*, eds. Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2006), 3-26.

²⁵⁸ Miguel Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llurs entremeses e ball’: Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36, no. 2 (2006): 651-686.

²⁵⁹ This is not to say that there were no regional or kingdom-wide professional associations, for there were a few. An example of these sorts of organizations would be *La Mesta* found in Castile, which brought together kingdom-wide wool interests at several levels—from seasonal long-distance herding (transhumance) to wool collection and sale—to coordinate and regulate the trade. This organization was supported by royal policy frequently intervening and overturning resource precedence traditionally held by cities and private parties. However, herding animals by its very nature is something that must exist outside of the city walls, and it would therefore make sense that there was a royal intervening body regulating its tradesmen. For more information on *La Mesta*, see Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain’s Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). Although there may be exceptions, such as *La Mesta*, these are outside the scope of this dissertation, which seeks to uncover the relative power of cities *vis-à-vis* their monarch. Additionally, they were few in number and fell apart when their particular niche

To assess the role of the guilds in the formation of urban identity, one must consider that the foundational charters of each professional guild were crafted within the scope of the urban professional landscape. Permission to form such an association—of tanners, barbers, butchers, and others—was obtained from the city council, which specified the rights that the guild was to have. As professional associations, guilds advocated the interests of their members, and one can find any number of examples in which guild members interacted with and lobbied city officials, perhaps even serving on city councils themselves. The municipal government granted guilds the right of assembly and regulated the jurisdiction and any number of actions of the association, particularly the right to hold a monopoly on production, commerce, or service, and the prices that the association could set for the goods its members produced. The mixture of guilds in any given city, and their relative importance, helped to establish the distinctive identity of each city.

That distinctive identity, in turn, was reflected in the structure of urban participation in a ceremonial reception. In Castile and Portugal the municipal delegations greeting and receiving the monarchs consisted of members of the municipal council along with the most prominent and influential townsmen, referred to simply as “good men” (*bones omes*), a somewhat elitist phrase hinting at a concept of nobility. In line with the rest of Europe, people in Portugal and Castile were commonly grouped into the three classic orders of clergy, nobles, and peasants (*oradores, defensores, et labradores*).²⁶⁰

disappeared. In contrast, professional guilds at the municipal scale were numerous and a prominent part of urban society and identity.

²⁶⁰ The classic exposition of this can be seen in Don Juan Manuel’s *Libro de los Estados* (1330). See also José Ramón Araluce Cuenca, *El libro de los estados: Don Juan Manuel y la sociedad de su tiempo*. Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1976.

The municipal delegations at ceremonial receptions in these kingdoms, while not replicating that categorization, did not contradict it either.

In contrast, the municipal delegations in the Crown of Aragon reflected a peculiarly urban, almost egalitarian division of society. The eastern delegations required the presence of “some men from each estate.”²⁶¹ In Barcelona, this denoted the formula of “four master craftsmen, four artisans, four merchants, and four honorable citizens.”²⁶² The different categorization schemes are not very easily compared. In the eastern system, the craftsmen, artisans, and merchants would all three be collapsed into the order of *labradores*. In the opposite direction, the category of “honorable citizens” would presumably connote the higher levels of society, both *oradores* and *defensores*.²⁶³ It was undoubtedly a status-based designation, but instead of relying on status related to the sacred (clergy) or to inherent personal traits (nobility), it relied on honor and citizenship, that is, membership in the urban community. All this is to say that all four social categories in Barcelonan delegations are suffused, therefore, with urban identity. They highlight the power of cities in the Crown of Aragon (as compared to Portugal and Castile, but also to most of the rest of Europe).

The high visibility of guilds of merchants and artisans within the Crown of Aragon is important for how we read the municipal documentation of the two kingdoms.

²⁶¹ “de alguns promens de tots staments.” *Llibre de les Solemnitats*, vol. I, 320-321, partially transcribed in Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los officis,” 667, n. 66.

²⁶² “part IIII manestrals, IIII artistes, IIII mercaders e IIII ciutadans honrats.” *Dietari o Llibre de Jornades*, 106, quoted in Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los officis”, 668, n. 74. The nineteenth-century author who translated several documents from the reption of Queen Isabel into Barcelona rendered the Catalan phrase “VIII. persones per lo dit Consell eletes., ço es: II. de quiscuu stament” into Castilian as “Eclesiástico, Nobleza, Comercio y Artes,” which seems a bit unfounded. P. B. *Obsequioso requerdo de la primera entrada en Barcelona de Doña Isabel primera la Católica a Doña Isabel Segunda* (Barcelona: Juan Oliveres y Montay, 1844), 8 and 18 respectively.

²⁶³ See James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Such a phenomenon relates to issues of documentary authorship and questions surrounding what social groups tend to be privileged in a document, with a clear voice and agency. Often, the privileged group within a document is one for which the author feels an affinity or sameness. Thus, even if the members of the city council in Barcelona were not directly involved in commercial activities, merchants and artisans were prominent parts of the urban community. That together they constituted a body numerically superior to the honorable citizens, with the right of representation and consultation, presumably, is significant. Clearly, the interests of guild professionals were strongly represented in Barcelona, and the urban society itself participated in a guild culture.

This strong connection between civic identity and guild culture, considering language, geography, and agency, lends weight to the notion of a west-to-east gradient within Iberia. Since guilds can be considered as the epitome of all that is urban, and the discussion of geography points to a gradient of urbanity intensifying the farther east one moves in Iberia, the degree of guilds' participation in ceremonial receptions in the three kingdoms would presumably display the same gradient. In Portugal, the municipal documentation related to ceremonial receptions shows the relative power dynamic favoring the king. For instance, the king typically oversaw municipal budgets for these ceremonies. For example, in 1572 the Portuguese king specified that expenses for the city of Évora on the ceremonial outfits used to receive Cardinal Alexandrino (Papal Legate) were not to exceed those spent on his own ceremonial reception into the same city. Moreover, he told the *provedor* of the city to inform him if the municipality had spent money on "any unnecessary things," although he did not specify what actions he would

take in such a case.²⁶⁴ A further example of such royal control is found in a royal letter to the city council of Évora, wherein the king (referring to a letter the council had sent him regarding the protocol they proposed to use in receiving the monarch) replied that he accepted their terms (*o havemos todo bem*), except for some details—that is, he did not really accept the terms. Importantly, the king objected to one of the proposals—presumably made by the city—saying “only, we do not accept that the municipal standard go to the [ceremonial] reception.”²⁶⁵

While it may seem surprising that the king of Portugal would seek to suppress the symbol of the city hosting him, this fits into larger peninsular patterns of power. The kings of Portugal controlled city life in a way that would have been unthinkable in the other peninsular kingdoms. In fact, they tended toward micromanagement of a city’s ceremonial affairs, including religious observations, showing a very different power dynamic from the other two Iberian kingdoms. For instance, the king of Portugal sent a letter to the major cities of the realm outlining in minute detail how he wished his subjects to provide a commemoration of the Virgin Mary, since “it seems to us something reasonable, proper, and even obligatory.”²⁶⁶ Each community was to make copies of the letter, “make it known throughout the cities, towns, and regions of your area, and have it transcribed into the books of the council.”²⁶⁷ Beyond specifying the date, “the day that She [The Virgin] visited Saint Isabel,” or 2 July, the royal edict even specified how the

²⁶⁴ “alguãs couzas desnecessarias me auizareis disso.” Almeirim, 12 February 1572, Livro Verde, f. 41r, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal, Évora, Portugal.

²⁶⁵ “somente não havemos por bem que a bandeira da cidade veja ao recebimento.” Estremôs, 22 February 1497, Livro Verde, f. 16v, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal, Évora, Portugal.

²⁶⁶ “Posto... parece-nos coisa arrazoada e devida e ainda obrigatória.” *Livro I da Correa, Legislação Quinhentista do Município de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Edição da Biblioteca Municipal, 1938), 169.

²⁶⁷ “notificar par tôdas as cidades, vilas e lugares de vossa comarca e assentar o treslado dela nos livros de suas Câmaras.” *Ibid.*, 169.

procession was to be carried out.²⁶⁸ The processioners, the document stated, “shall carry an image of Our Lady or some relics beneath a *palio* wherever one exists, and where a *palio* does not exist, they will go without one.”²⁶⁹ The king not only required the presence of “the entire population” (*todo o povo*) to witness the procession, that is, those of the secular world, but the letter presumed jurisdiction over “the clergy and its bishops,” ordering them “to join in with their crosses and decorations.”²⁷⁰ Furthermore, the festival was to take place yearly, in perpetuity (*daí em diante*).

In contrast to the situation in Portugal, in the Crown of Aragon the cities demonstrated a position of superiority over their kings in important respects. Many years ago, Ralph Giesey noted the relative power of local authorities in the Crown of Aragon. When kings ascended to the throne, the local power structure swore oaths of loyalty to the monarch, but as part of a contract that laid out multiple conditions that the monarch had to fulfill in exchange for their loyalty and adherence to his rule. The most extraordinary clause of these ceremonial texts stated, “We who are as good as you swear to you who are no better than we to accept you as our king and sovereign lord, provided you observe all our liberties and laws; but if not, not.” That is to say, from an early date subjects and cities in the Crown of Aragon were able to establish a tradition and a definition of power that favored them. This particular power dynamic is demonstrated in several municipal documents linked to both ceremonies of accession and reception, moments that could either confirm older relationships or set them on a new path.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 169.

²⁶⁹ “em dia da visitação que ela fez a Santa Isabel... levarão uma imagem de Nossa Senhora ou algumas relíquias debaixo do pálio onde o houver e onde não houver pálio irá sem êle e chamar-se-á todo o povo para vir à dita procissão para todos lhe darem graça e louvores por tantos bens e mercês como todos dela por seus rogos recebemos.” Ibid., 169.

²⁷⁰ “Nós escrevemos aos prelados que a façam assim saber à clerezia de seus bispados para n dito dia se ajuntarem todos com as cruces e ornamentos.” Ibid., 169.

The independence of spirit and the expectations that town-dwellers had in the Crown of Aragon came into focus when the Catalans rebelled against King Juan II of Aragon. This occurred after “Pedro of Portugal, whom [they] had chosen as their ruler, died in June 1466.” When Juan II then tried to assert his will over the Catalans, “they steadfastly refused to surrender and invited René of Anjou, pretender to the thrones of Naples and Sicily to rule over them.”²⁷¹ Among several other political plots, Juan II of Aragon supported the marriage of his son Fernando to Isabel, princess of Castile. From before their marriage in 1469, these two ambitious teenagers positioned themselves at the center of the many imbroglios surrounding them, including supporting Juan II against the Catalans, most notably the Barcelona. When the son of René de Anjou died, “the Catalan rebels were left without effective military leadership. Royalist forces besieged Barcelona, the last stronghold of the resistance, and forced its surrender in October 1472.”²⁷² Once the monarchy had gained the upper hand, certain cities in the Crown of Aragon provided ceremonial receptions and other celebrations to mend royal-municipal relations. Juan II of Aragon saw a ceremonial reception into Perpignan in 1473 (although the French recovered the city only a few years later), and the city of Valencia held a celebration in early January 1475, after Juan II’s son became King Fernando I of Castile in late 1474. Valencia would host yet another celebration in his honor in 1479, receiving him, when he returned to his eastern realms to become King Fernando (or Ferrand, in Catalan/ Aragonese) II of Aragon.²⁷³ Although the royalist forces came out on top, the important

²⁷¹ O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 574.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 575.

²⁷³ Salvador Carreres Zacarés, *Ensayo de una bibliografía de libros de fiestas celebradas en Valencia y su antiguo reino* (Valencia: Imprenta Hijo de F. Vivers Mora, 1925), doc. XXXIII a, 141-142, and doc. XXXIV.

thing to recognize is that eastern cities were powerful political agents, periodically capable of opposing a monarch, or at least electing then one they preferred.

Miguel Raufast has recently pointed out that citizens in the eastern kingdom not only had a unique sense of identity *vis-à-vis* the king, but they also clearly saw themselves as the keepers of the institutional memory governing ceremonial receptions. That is to say, unlike Castile, and absolutely unlike Portugal, city-dwellers of the Crown of Aragon considered themselves the custodians of protocol and custom regulating ceremonial receptions. Essentially, in the same way they shopped for the most convenient royal claimant, so too did they develop and design the protocol by which they would receive a king, according to political circumstances at any given time. These designs or templates then became precedents and models with meanings assigned to them by their urban creators. Cities would then choose to employ one of these models during future occasions in order to project one meaning or another.

Raufast cites an example when Juan II of Aragon sought to be received into the city of Barcelona, “but appears not to have had any information whatsoever regarding the entries of his predecessors into Barcelona.”²⁷⁴ Specifically, the king asked the deputies of the Diputació del General de Catalunya, or Generalitat, to investigate the specific precedents of the “last kings of the comital house (Juan I, in 1387, and Martin I, in 1397) and the members of the new dynasty of Trastámara, that is, his father Fernando I, in 1412, and his brother, Alfonso IV, in 1416.”²⁷⁵ The deputies were unable to find any information whatsoever in their own kingdom-wide archive or in that of the king. When

²⁷⁴ Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?” 99.

²⁷⁵ “tanto los últimos reyes de la Casa Condal (Juan I, en 1387, y Martín I, en 1397) como los primeros de la nueva dinastía Trastámara, es decir, su padre, Fernando I, en 1412, y su hermano, Alfonso IV, en 1416.” Ibid., 99.

they resorted to the municipal archive, “where such acts are customarily recorded,” the deputies remarked, they were met with a swift refusal to share such information.²⁷⁶

Raufast concludes that the magistrates of Barcelona guarded the institutional memory fiercely, so as to regulate their interactions with royalty (i.e. ceremonial receptions) and use such information as a source of power.²⁷⁷

There is also an interesting example of when Martin I showed up in the vicinity in Barcelona to be received as king but was intercepted en route by representatives from Aragon. They informed him that for anyone to be considered a true and legitimate king of the realm, he had to perform a ceremony of oath-taking in the city of Zaragoza, the traditional site for the coronation of Aragonese kings.²⁷⁸ From there he was to swear to uphold the rights and privileges of the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia. The representatives insisted that Zaragoza was preeminent in this over all other cities, including Barcelona, and that the king would have to modify his itinerary to appear first in Zaragoza. Such an example not only demonstrates the power that citizens of the eastern kingdom had in relation to their king, but also how cities competed among themselves for this power. The subtext to the objections of the representatives was that Zaragoza had a higher status than Barcelona in ceremonial matters and legitimation, because it was the capital of the Kingdom of Aragon, which had absorbed the kingdom of Valencia and the county of Barcelona to become the Crown of Aragon. Thus, the representatives of the kingdom of Aragon hearkened to traditions of their own civic king-making.

²⁷⁶ “hon se diu tais actes se acostumen metre en record,” quoted in *ibid.*, 99.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁷⁸ Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 110.

Perhaps the epitome of how citizens of the eastern kingdom saw themselves (and some would argue continue to see themselves) is seen in Esteve Gilabert Bruniquer's 1630 *Summary Report on the Ancient Foundations and Christianity of the City of Barcelona*. In this work, the author provided an interpretation and justification for certain protocols and actions taken by the city. During a ceremonial reception, the "twenty four magistrates proceed [before the king], escorting him and drawing him forth by the gold and silk crimson cords attached to the reins of the horse, so that the lord king can know that he enters bound and obligated to uphold the privileges and laws of the land."²⁷⁹

While not particularly happy with these circumstances, monarchs of the Crown of Aragon knew that they had to function within the constraints of precedent and tradition. Much of the correspondence between city and sovereign in this realm shows that most often the monarchs had no idea what the protocol was in a given city or what they should expect upon arrival. Furthermore, the attempt of Aragonese kings to search for such precedents within their own royal and regional archives, elucidated by Raufast, suggests that they were trying to circumvent the precedents established by the cities. The municipal monopoly of information and institutional memory represented power, municipal agency, and a real constraint on the exercise of royal power.

The surviving evidence in Castile regarding the power apportioned between the municipality and the monarchy suggests that the subject-sovereign relationship was perpetually in flux. The model of geo-proximal influence would suggest that Castile,

²⁷⁹ "los 24 pròmens se posan devant, guiant lo cavall y tirantlo ab dos cordons de or y seda carmesina lligats al fre del caval, perquè lo señor Rey sapia que entra lligat e obligat a la observansa dels privilegis y leys de la terra." Esteve Gilabert Bruniquer (1630), *Relació Sumario de la Antiga fundació y cristianisme de la Ciutat de Barcelona y dels AnticsMagistrat i Govem dels magnífichs Consellers...*, Diversorum, XV-7, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, quoted in Raufast Chico, "¿Un mismo ceremonial?" 100, n. 34.

forming the center of the west-to-east power gradient within the Iberian Peninsula, occupied a place somewhere between the total dominance of the monarchy over the cities in Portugal and the relative power of cities over the monarchy in the Crown of Aragon. While Castile's city-sovereign power dynamic was in the middle of these two extremes, it should not be thought of as stable or a happy medium. Instead, the relationship between Castilian municipalities and monarchs seems to have been inherently unstable, though the scales eventually tipped in favor of the monarchy. This shift was reflected in a loss of municipal impetus behind ceremonial reception, as we saw in Chapter 2.

The ceremonial receptions of the three Iberian kingdoms also saw differences regarding specific practices. One important difference concerns the use of the *palio*, a ceremonial canopy that was held over the monarch as he or she proceeded through the city.²⁸⁰ The *palio* was an essential element of ceremonial receptions in all three Iberian kingdoms, but the date of its first use seems to be lost in history. A document from Coimbra, Portugal, illustrates its necessity nicely, stating “wherever the mentioned lords [our kings] come to this region for the first time, the city councilors should work diligently to procure the richest *palio* possible, both for what it contributes to the service of said lords and to the honor of said city.”²⁸¹ Thus, the canopy was seen as contributing to the prestige of both parties, the royal and the municipal.

In the early sixteenth century, the magistrates of Coimbra considered the *palio*'s origin to be time out of memory, stating, “It has always been the custom to receive

²⁸⁰ I am still working out the particulars of these differences, such as when the *palio* was introduced to royal entries in each kingdom, as well as what terms were used to refer to them (since in Castile, for example, the word *palio* seems not to have been common until the mid-fifteenth century, with previous references to the item simply using the word *pañó*, or “cloth”).

²⁸¹ “Quando os ditos senhores vierem novamente à terra os vereadores se devem muito de trabalhar de catarem o mais rico pálio que puderem haver assim pelo que cumpre a serviço dos ditos senhores como pelo que cumpre à honra da cidade.” *Livro I da Correa*, 280.

monarchs under a *palio*.”²⁸² In Castile, the description of the ceremonial reception of Alfonso XI into Seville in 1324 implies that the use of the *palio* was already a long-standing custom, since the chronicler mentions nothing about its uniqueness or novelty. The importance of this ceremonial canopy to historiography has to do with its symbolic associations. Scholars have noted that a similar canopy was used during festivals of Corpus Christi to shade and protect the Host as it was paraded through the streets and venerated. Using semiotic theory, most authors have come to accept the notion that the canopy was associated in the minds of spectators with the divinity that was protected beneath it. Thus, when monarchs too were shielded by canopies in later centuries, they were regarded as semi-divine.²⁸³ Supporting this notion—a phenomenon often called the “Eucharistic Prince”—is the fact that, by the end of the fourteenth century, the itineraries of both the Corpus Christi procession (an annual event) and ceremonial receptions (extraordinary events occurring perhaps only once every few decades) tended to be synchronized. In addition, Gordon Kipling has provided compelling evidence that late medieval ceremonial receptions in Europe north of the Alps used a variety of imagery and Biblical allusions to convert the receiving city into an embodiment of the Jerusalem (either Heavenly or Earthly), modeled on Jesus’ *adventus*, transforming the monarch into a Christ-like figure in the process.²⁸⁴

²⁸² “Sempre foi costume que quando os reis veem a primeira vez à cidade onde são recebidos com pálio.” Ibid., 281.

²⁸³ To complicate this notion, kings of ancient Egypt and the Middle East likewise had canopies carried over them, with no Christian associations. See, for instance, the relief sculpture depicting servants carrying parasols over monarchs: John Curtis and J.E. Reade, eds., *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 54, 55, and John Curtis and Nigel Tallis, eds., *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 36.

²⁸⁴ See Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

This model seems to work for the Crown of Aragon, the Iberian kingdom closest to what we now call France. Much like what Kipling describes for northern Europe, Raufast has argued that ceremonial receptions in the Crown of Aragon saw a “transformation of the city into an evocation of Biblical Jerusalem and of the king into a venerated being with sacred characteristics—protected beneath a *palio*, which associated his being with divinity—[and] which created a parallel universe.”²⁸⁵ Like their neighbors to the North, it is clear that citizens in the eastern kingdom sought inspiration for ceremonial receptions in the Holy Scriptures. For example, during the preparations for the 1458 ceremonial reception into Barcelona, the *consellers* sought precedents from the archive of municipal expenses (*archiu del racional*), but also charged organizers “to read the Holy Scriptures, which states that when kings make an new entry, in order to show pleasure and happiness toward their entries, festivals and solemnities should be performed for them by their vassals.”²⁸⁶

Such inspiration was not completely absent from the minds of Castilians. The Castilian monarchs clearly knew of the motif, such as it was portrayed in a gift King Juan II of Castile received from the King of France: “a very rich French cloth of gold [probably a tapestry] with a portrayal of when Our Lord entered Jerusalem while they placed branches along the path.”²⁸⁷ An eyewitness to the 1483 entry into Durango (in the

²⁸⁵ “La transformación de la ciudad en una evocación de la Jerusalén bíblica y del rey en un ser adomado con caracteres sagrados--custodiado bajo un palio que asociaba su figura con la divinidad—que ... venía a configurar un universo paralelo.” Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 112.

²⁸⁶ “se lig en la Sancta Scriptura que, quant los reys novellament entren, per mostrar plaer e alegria de lurs novelles entrades, an aquells deuen ésser fetes festes e sollempnitats per lurs vassalls.” Barcelona, 8 August 1458, *Deliberacions*, II-12, f. 43v, *Consell de Cent*, *Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, partially transcribed in Miguel Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36, no. 1 (2006): 295-333, esp. 314, n. 58.

²⁸⁷ “y embióle mas un paño frances muy rico de oro, de la historia de la remembranza de quando Nuestro Señor entró en Jerusalem y le echaban ramos por el camino.” Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del*

northernmost reaches of Castile, in the Biscayan region), commented that the event was appropriate, “Because our law commands all Christians to obey and carry out the orders of their kings, and to express great joy and pleasure to honor ... and render service to [their] kings.”²⁸⁸ The subtext here would seem to be that the “law” of the land was related to the sacred. In 1506 the monarchs of Castile even made a specific parallel between themselves and the Holy Trinity, specifying that henceforth there would be “union and peace in perpetuity” between Fernando, Felipe of Habsburg, and Juana, “both in the governance of these kingdoms and in the defense, preservation, and benefit of its estates, [all] as one soul and one desire in three bodies.”²⁸⁹ It should be noted, however, that this explicit evocation of the Trinity was not associated with a ceremonial reception per se, although major cities of the realm were commanded to celebrate the occasion from afar with decorations and entertainments.

While at first glance such evidence might suggest that monarchs across Iberia were regarded as “Eucharistic Princes,” upon further inspection, the notion is problematical. I have found no evidence for Portugal at all to support the notion. In Castile, allusions to Biblical themes during ceremonial receptions are never as clear in their parallels as they are in the Crown of Aragon, and their interpretation is ambiguous at best. Even when decorative themes present a king as divinely favored—for example,

serenísimo Don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre, Yr. 1411, Ch. XIX, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 68, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1877), 339.

²⁸⁸ “Por quanto la ley nuestra manda a todos los christianos que ovedescan e cunplan los mandamientos de sus reyes, e ayan ggrandisimo deseo e plazer de la honor e honrra e serruicio de los reyes.” Concepción Hidalgo de Cisneros Amestoy, et al., eds., *Colección documental del Archivo Municipal de Durango*, tomo II. Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco. (San Sebastián: Eusko-Ikaskuntza, Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1989), doc. 64, 352.

²⁸⁹ “vnion e concordia perpetua, asy para la gobernación destos rreynos como para la defension e conseruacion e benefiçion de sus estados, como vna anima e vna voluntad en tres cuerpos.” *Libros de Actas*, 1506, fol. 200r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

receiving a crown from angels—the scene does not necessarily imply that he was Christ-like. Such a scene does little to provide a parallel between Earthly Jerusalem and Heavenly Jerusalem, and visitation by angels was a much broader phenomenon in religious writings. Moreover, specific practices surrounding the ceremonial canopy complicate the scenario. In Castile, one finds at least two instances in which more than one *palio* was used during the same ceremonial reception of royalty. On one occasion, this was in succession, and on another occasion, two “separate” canopies were used to cover the prince and princess in procession at the same time.

A report (*relación*) of the expenses for the reception of Princess Margarita of Austria into Seville in 1497 indicates the presence of three separate canopies: that is, “the *palio* that was carried on foot,” “the silk *palio* that was carried by those riding horses,” and, uniquely, “the *palio* that was run along the river.”²⁹⁰ The presence of three Christ-creating devices would have had religious significance evoking notions of the Trinity. The scenario is complicated, however, for two main reasons. First, the canopies were used in succession, one after the other, which would involve three separate Christ-creating moments, if we accept the notion of semiotic transfer from the Corpus Christi to the monarch. Second, neither the canopy run along the river (part of a *galera*-style covered rowboat), nor the canopy carried with horses, appear to have been associated with the Corpus Christi, nor followed the same itinerary the city’s procession of it. Despite their similar designation as “palios,” they seem to have been of independent origin.

²⁹⁰ “el palio dela seda que corrieron los caualleros e en el palio que se corrio por el rio e en el palio que se corrio a pie.” Expense sheet, 8 May 1497, “Que gasto el dicho mayordomo en comprar el terçiopelo [inserted: carmesí] para correr a cauallo... e para el río, e en el paño para correr a pie,” Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

More philosophically complex still is the ceremonial entry of Juana and Felipe into Madrid in 1502. A few months prior to the event in October, 1501, Fernando and Isabel sent instructions to the city council stating that the arrival of the prince and princess was imminent, and that they “[were] to be received with a *palio* of brocade in the manner that the princes of Castile tend to be received, and there are to be two *palios*, each one with its tassels.... one of which should be given to whomever the prince, our son, commands and the other to whomever the princess, our daughter, commands.”²⁹¹ In the “Eucharistic Prince” interpretation, this would imply that there were two Christs walking about Madrid at the same time.

Nor would the presence of two canopies used simultaneously have made much sense within Christian numerological schema. What it did do, was provide the prince and princess with their own canopy space (since the *palios* seemed to have been joined down the middle), marking each monarch-in-the-making as equally important and of equal status. This, however, was a political consideration, not a religious one. This is not to say conclusively that the notion of a “Eucharistic Prince” (or princess) was completely absent from Castile and Portugal, but rather that the evidence is far from straightforward, and scholars should be cautious about applying models from northern Europe to Iberia.

To return to the larger issue of peninsular gradients, it seems that the use of the *palio* generally followed west-to-east pattern, although perhaps opposite of what one might expect. In the documents consulted, there was no mention of a religious connection with the use of the *palio* in Portugal. In contrast, there was a close religious connection in

²⁹¹ “han los de reçebir con palio de brocado como suelen reçebir a los príncipes de Castilla y deuen ser dos palios, cada uno con sus flocaduras.... Delos quales se ha de dar el uno a quien mandare el príncipe nuestro hijo y el otro a quien mandare la prinçesa nuestra hija.” 14 October 1501, Sección 2-311-29, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid.

the Crown of Aragon, along with reference to Scripture and a likely connection to the concept of the Eucharistic Prince. In Castile, the use of the *palio* seems to have had some connection with religious practice, but without explicit religious implications regarding the royal figure. Despite this ambiguity, the use of the royal *palio* and its implications show a gradient across the Iberian Peninsula, with Castile again seeming to occupy a middle ground between the kingdoms to its west and east. In this case, the Crown of Aragon shows the clearest connections to the meaning of the *palio* in France and Northern Europe, quite different from usage in Castile and Portugal.

An even more striking difference between Portugal and Castile, on one hand, and the Crown of Aragon, on the other, has to do with the ceremonial presentation of gifts from the city. Like the example of the *palio*, the use of gifts illustrates a different case of the west-to-east gradient. However, the difference in gift-giving customs among the three kingdoms is not merely superficial, but instead has some of the most important political implications, since gift giving creates, solidifies, or modifies relationships between the giver and the receiver.²⁹² Who gives the gifts and who receives them, and whether the gifts are reciprocated, are important considerations. Scholarship on northern European ceremonial receptions has established that it was common practice for cities to present gifts to the monarch. Following this scholarship, a common assertion in the secondary literature by Hispanists is that city-to-king gift-giving was an indispensable element of ceremonial receptions within Iberia.²⁹³

²⁹² For an application of “gift economy” theory, first developed by anthropologists, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999).

²⁹³ Rosana de Andrés Díaz, “Las entradas reales castellanas,” 51.

The supposedly universal practice is said to have occurred immediately after the initial exchange of pleasantries and oaths between the royal and municipal parties. In such a model, the gifts are associated with the acceptance of royal authority by the city. For example, in her influential article Rosana de Andrés Díaz marks this practice of giving gifts (*dávidas*) as a matter of course, occurring in both Castile and the Crown of Aragon. She bases this claim on evidence from the chronicles, citing a passage recounting the series of ceremonial receptions in 1481 made by Fernando and Isabel, who received “great presents and gifts, not only [from] the city councils... but also the knights and merchants, and Jews and Moors, their vassals.”²⁹⁴

I find such statements problematic for several reasons. First, the example being cited occurred in the Crown of Aragon, not in Castile. Using evidence from the former to make argument for the latter seem to unjustly flatten the differences between the two kingdoms, if not done carefully. Such a practice is tempting, since evidence from the eastern kingdom tends to be more plentiful and more detailed. But its use can often lead an author to arrive at erroneous conclusions, or at least unwittingly present an argument of analogy, without explicitly stating the methodology involved. In doing so, they are left with blurred lines between each kingdom’s individual practice and crude assumptions that if one kingdom practiced a certain custom, then the other kingdoms must also have done so. These assumptions fail to take into account the differences among the kingdoms, which I would argue that the differences are often the most revealing.

²⁹⁴ “En el dicho año de 1481 fueron el Rey Don Fernando é la Reina Doña Isabel con toda su córte á Aragon, Cataluña y Valencia, á ser recibidos por Reyes é Señores de la tierra, é tomar posesion de aquellos Reynos é Condado de Barcelona... donde les hicieron muy solemnes recibimientos, é dieron muy grandes presentes é dádivas, asi los Concejos de las ciudades, como los caballeros é mercaderes, é los judios, é los moros sus vasallos.” Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 70, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, vol. III (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1878) ch. 46, 603.

There is also the issue that such universalizing statements about ceremonial receptions draw almost exclusively from the chronicles. While such narratives provide seemingly vivid details, they actually provide only a very limited perspective, dominated by the royal point of view. The nuance and difference of the story—derived from the unique role of a given municipal population played during the months of preparation and organization before and after the event—is left out completely.

For example, the often-cited passage by the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez specifically refers to the gift-giving practices seen during the monarchs' travels through Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia.²⁹⁵ One should be careful in assuming similar practices for Castile, since, indeed, there seems to be no archival evidence to support the idea that the custom of municipalities giving monarchs gifts was common in Castile, at least through the death of King Fernando in 1516.²⁹⁶ The lack of his supposedly universal practices calls into question the notion that gifts were equated with accepting sovereignty, as scholars have maintained. In fact, the municipal documents suggest that civic gift-giving was, at least in the minds of city-dwellers, a sign of urban wealth, power, and prestige, not subjugation. The language used is very clear on this.

In the Crown of Aragon, the evidence regarding city-to-king gift-giving is both prolific and unambiguous. It is clear that city-dwellers viewed the presentation of a

²⁹⁵ Rosana de Andrés Díaz quotes this passage in the text of her article and implies that this scenario was common practice in Castile. I am still in the process of back-tracking other references she puts in the accompanying footnote.

²⁹⁶ Even if “these gifts were of diverse variety: meats, services and provisions, richly decorated horses and all types of presents” (“Estas ofrendas eran de muy diversa índole: viandas, servicios y mantenimientos, caballos ricamente adornados y todo tipo de presentes y dávidasas”), as Rosana de Andrés Díaz claims (Ibid., 51), it is still telling that no gifts of a financial sort are recorded in the expense accounts, such as those of Sección XV (Mayordomado), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, nor in the city hall minutes (*libros de actas/ acuerdos/ fechos*) of Castile, where surely at least the decision to present a gift would have been recorded.

“donatiu” as customary and as a matter of civic pride. For the occasion of receiving Juan II and his queen, “the honorable *consellers* [of Barcelona] ordered... the principal chamber of city hall... [to be] draped in cloth... [displaying] all the silver dishware... made for the gift... in open sight for all to see.”²⁹⁷ In this way, all the inhabitants of the city, along with all the visitors of the court, could thus share in the rich gift demonstration. Nothing about the language suggests a sense of subjugation.

This is not to say that monarchs did not have a different perspective, since the sovereigns of the Crown of Aragon expected such gifts and arguably viewed them more in terms of their monetary value than their artistic or functional value. In this, monarchs of the Crown of Aragon seem to have had expectations similar to those of northern Europe where, “over the course of time, sovereigns came to regard this *adventus* gift as if it were some sort of ‘right’ consequent upon their accession to the throne.”²⁹⁸ Such an interest in cash is seen in the comments of Ferrand I (Fernando de Antequera, in the Castilian context) who, after having already made his first entry into Barcelona in 1414, “ordered an inquiry into whether Barcelona intended to offer a second royal entry to the monarch,” while implying that he would accept a cash payment *in lieu* of a celebration.²⁹⁹

In contrast to the prolific evidence in the Crown of Aragon for the presentation of gifts to the monarch, including “interminable... missives” between crown and town, as

²⁹⁷ “los honorables Consellers fferen fer o bastir I gran tinell en la sala o pati qui es al cap de la scala principal de la casa de la Ciutat, en lo qual, empaliat de drap de ras lenfront, ffoi posada tota la vaxella dargent, la qual la dita Ciutat ha feta per lo donatiu que fa al senyor Rey e a la senyora Reyna per llur novella entrada (...) E parat lo dit tinell stech axi parat tot lo dit die, fins a hora de completa, a comuna vista de qui veure ho volia.” Manual de Novells Ardits, vol. II, 306, partially transcribed in Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada?,” 325, n. 102.

²⁹⁸ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 117.

²⁹⁹ “ordena averiguar si Barcelona suele ofrecer una segunda entrada real al monarca, llegando a tantear, muy tímidamente, la posibilidad de intercambiar dicha celebración por una cantidad económica.” Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 101.

well as the fine detail of internal communications and debates among city magistrates as to what protocols to follow.³⁰⁰ In contrast, the municipal archives I have searched in Portugal and Castile do not record such a practice.³⁰¹ Still, municipal administrative practice had a certain rationale, and the decision-making behind municipal gifts and the expenses for them would have been recorded in financial and accounting documents, or at the very least in the city-council minutes. And yet, in Portugal and Castile they were not.³⁰²

The silence is almost certainly not a product of different documentary practices or lack of detail, since, for example, Castilian documents record expenses for minor items such as the ropes (*sogas e maroma*) and nails (*clavason*) used to erect platform seating at ceremonial receptions,³⁰³ and even how much it cost to shear (*tundir*) the cloth used to make ceremonial uniforms for municipal officials.³⁰⁴ A decision as important as commissioning gifts and presenting them to the monarch would surely have been of sufficient importance to leave at least trace signatures in the documentation, had the practice existed.

Beyond the important silences of the Portuguese and Castilian documentation, there are also specific indications that city-to-king gift giving was not common outside

³⁰⁰ “interminable... misivas.” Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada?,” 325, n. 101.

³⁰¹ From the municipal archives of various cities in the Crown of Aragon we have copious evidence of the customary presentation of gifts to the visiting monarchs, usually in the form of lavish silver dishware (*vaxella d'argent*). For a few examples of documents, see Lletres Closes, VI-21, f. 53v, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, and *Manual de Novells Ardits*, vol. II, 306, discussed in Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada?,” 325, ns. 101 and 102, as well as Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” appendix, doc. 4.

³⁰² At least in the archives I where I have worked.

³⁰³ Expense sheet, July 1490?, “Los maravedis que costaron la madera e tabalas e clauason,” f. 1v, Sección XV (Mayordomado), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Two copies exist.

³⁰⁴ 3 January 1500, “Mandamiento de Sevilla... maravedis que se gastaron en... el recibimiento del Rey e dela Reyna e del príncipe,” f. 2v, Sección XV (Mayordomado), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

the Crown of Aragon. For example, a royal letter from Fernando and Isabel to the city of Valladolid, in reference to an impending princely arrival in 1502, states “by other letters of ours you will have seen the ways in which you are to receive the prince and princess... into the city and there is nothing more to say on the matter. However, we would be very pleased if the city were to give a gift to the prince and princess... of a few pieces of silver, well fashioned, if this is possible to do without levying extraordinary taxes.”³⁰⁵ The “pieces of silver” almost certainly refer to the sort of dishware that was commonly presented to monarchs in the Crown of Aragon and elsewhere in Europe. However, in this example the king and queen are asking for the present, an action that would be unnecessary were it already customary in Castile to provide such gifts. What is more, the phrase “if it is possible to do so without levying extraordinary taxes” is conditional, which suggests that the request was unusual. The monarchs seem to have assumed that the city had not yet commissioned the silverware, and even anticipated that the city might not be able to pay for the gift without extreme and burdensome measures. Both notions imply that city-to-monarch presentation of gifts was not usual.

In fact, based on municipal documentation, the flow of gifts in Castile actually seems to have been from monarch to city, and not the other way around. For example, documents from the ceremonial receptions of Princess Margarita of Austria (Valladolid, 1497) and Prince Miguel (Madrid, 1499) record the royal action of supplying the city magistrates with the expensive brocade textiles needed to fabricate ceremonial

³⁰⁵ “Por otras nuestras cartas avreys visto la manera que aveys de tener en esa villa en el rescibimiento del Príncipe e de la Princesa, nuestras hijos, e en aquello no ay más que desir, pero avriamos plaser que esa villa hisiese presente al Príncipe e a la Princesa, nuestros hijos, de algunas piezas de plata bien labradas, pudiendose haser syn echar repartimiento.” Filemón Arribas Arranz, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos relacionados con Valladolid* (Valladolid: Imprenta Sever-Cuesta, 1953), doc. XVI, 59.

uniforms.³⁰⁶ In the second instance, municipal finances are cited as the primary motivation for such a gesture (namely, so that “it not be necessary for you [i.e. Madrid’s city council] to have any expenses”).³⁰⁷ In the first instance, the documents state that “the queen, our lady, commanded that [the bolts of cloth] be remanded to them [i.e. the magistrates of Valladolid] in the manner that they were always given during ceremonial receptions of the past, in these parts, since time immemorial, as it appears among the old books of the afore-mentioned council.”³⁰⁸ Whether this was truly a time-honored perquisite of Valladolid, or really just a clever use of the power of tradition, what is important to recognize is that the queen found the explanation plausible enough to grant the *vallesoletanos* their wish.

All of this begs the question of why the presentation of gifts from city to monarch was customary and expected in the Crown of Aragon, while it was not so in Portugal or Castile. My tentative hypothesis is that the differences in customs are symptomatic of deeper, more fundamental differences among the kingdoms, possibly the result of the differences in tax structures.³⁰⁹ Whereas in Castile taxes paid from city to sovereign were characterized by frequent, regular payments, in the Crown of Aragon it was characterized by periodic, lump-sum payments.³¹⁰ These differences in tax structure could also possibly

³⁰⁶ Fernando Pino Rebolledo, ed. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990), entry for 20 May 1497, 101; Aranjuez, 23 January 1499, Sección 2-311-28, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid. Similarly, documents from the Sección Histórica, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, show instances of royalty giving the city various subsidies in kind and in the form of tax privileges.

³⁰⁷ “no sera menester que fagays ningun gasto.” Sección 2-311-28, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid.

³⁰⁸ “la reyna, nuestra sennora, les mandó que se librasen commo sienpre se les dió e libró en los resçebimientos pasados de tiempo ynmemorial a esta parte, segund paresçe por los libros antiguos del dicho conçejo.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 101.

³⁰⁹ I would like to thank Carla Rahn Phillips for suggesting this possible explanation and line of inquiry.

³¹⁰ For the classic statement on Castile’s taxation system during the fifteenth century, see Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *El siglo XV en Castilla. Fuentes de renta y política fiscal* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1982). For a recent analysis of the Crown of Aragon’s system, see Manuel Sánchez Martínez, *Pagar al rey en la Corona*

help explain why the monarchs in Castile were continually issuing edicts and sumptuary legislation.

Since such edicts usually stress a restriction of municipal (and individual) expenditures on ceremonies and luxury goods, and not concerns of transgressing social status, it may well be that royals were genuinely concerned with maintaining the delicate balance of their tax structure. That is to say, while they recognized that Castile's system allowed for maximum extraction of wealth, it was also precarious, and excessive "non-productive" expenses could put the system in jeopardy. The differences in tax mechanisms would also help explain why Castilians felt no need to provide their monarchs with gifts, since they had effectively already given them what they could. In contrast, citizens in the Crown of Aragon felt it customary and proper to provide such gifts, and, much like other monarchs north of the Pyrenees, monarchs of the eastern kingdom came to expect such gifts, treating them over time as a right and a form of taxation owed to them—although, again, city-dwellers gave them a different meaning.

Although economists can debate which of the two systems—the regular taxation of Castile or the periodic payments of Aragon—would have offered the best short-term benefits for the crown, the great advantage for the Trastámaran dynasty after the marital union of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon in 1469 was that they could draw on both systems. They could rely on Castile for regular income, and in times of crisis, when they needed an extra infusion of cash, they could count on large lump sums from the Crown of Aragon. Combined, this joint tax structure arguably helped to fuel the

de Aragón durante el siglo XIV. Estudios sobre fiscalidad y finanzas reales y urbanas (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Institución Milá y Fontanals, 2003).

formidable war machine that propelled Trastámaran Spain onto the world stage, even if historical accidents would eventually place the Habsburg dynasty on the throne.

These customs regarding gift-giving also show a gradient from west to east, with gift-giving seemingly absent from the ceremonial receptions of Portugal, but forming an integral part of such ceremonies in the Crown of Aragon. Castile is in the middle yet again, this time with only periodic use of the practice. Gifts are mentioned in some receptions in Castile, but they were generally from the monarch to the municipality. When municipal gift-giving appeared in the 1502 reception by Valladolid, it was something that the monarchy requested, and even then modestly and contingently. One might speculate that King Fernando had a role in this incident. Because he was raised in the gift-giving tradition of Aragon, he may have wanted to instill the practice in Castile and suggested it to the queen. Whatever the impetus behind the queen's request, the proximity of Castile and Aragon and the marriage of Fernando and Isabel presumably made it easier for the practice of gift-giving to transcend traditional boundaries, at least tentatively, providing a glimpse of how customs move from one cultural area to another.

The model I propose here is broad, but I think that the peninsular, comparative approach is a valuable one. The ceremonies surrounding receptions of royalty and the preparations necessary for them are useful instruments with which to study the relations of power between central and local governments. What these instruments suggest is that the dynamics of power were determined largely by the constraints of transportation and communication that monarchs had to work with and by the histories of the resettlement of territory. Both factors influenced the degree of decentralization of the kingdom's power

structures and the relative autonomy that each region and its cities were able to negotiate from their king.

During this period, there were frequent shifts in borders and in royal personnel, as monarchs died, heirs died before they could succeed their fathers, and dynasties changed. With this in mind, it is vital that the scholarship of ceremonial receptions of royalty in any of the Iberian kingdom consider peninsular system as a whole, both the differences as well as the similarities. The kingdoms of medieval Iberia shared many customs regarding their ceremonies, as we have seen, including the language of reception, decoration, sanitation, and so on. However, then as now, the kingdoms had very separate identities, with sometimes very different economic and political developments. It is in this light that I would argue that such a methodology of geo-proximal influence helps one understand more than merely what was particular to each kingdom, or what was common to all. For the analysis of the relationship between these two data sets puts into relief what is truly paradigmatic about the case of Northern Europe. That is to say, by pondering not only what sorts of data are shared or not shared, but also why this is the case, we can rethink what we thought we knew about ceremonial receptions. With these ideas in mind, the following two chapters problematize the commonly held notions regarding the financial and political dimensions of European ceremonial receptions.

CHAPTER 4

THE MUNICIPAL ECONOMY BEHIND IBERIAN CEREMONIAL RECEPTIONS

Ceremonial receptions were a product of the urban economy. They relied on the municipal impetus, administrative capacity, infrastructure, and financial expertise, without which they could not have existed. Even beyond the city limits, municipalities brought together vast commercial and political networks extending from their urban centers (here in Iberia) to peripheral locations (here as far as England and Flanders). These networks connected both urban and rural populations into a large, functioning apparatus involving dozens of cities, merchants, day laborers, artists, and administrators, all of whom contributed their part to the ceremonial reception. From a city's hinterland, peasants provided their materials and labor to the nearest village, from where they funneled to the city receiving the monarch. From the other side of Europe, textile workers contributed the luxurious silks, brocades, and velvets that would be used for the ceremonial canopy, municipal uniforms, and various flags and decorations needed for the ceremonial reception. All of this activity, both central and peripheral, occurred long before a monarch arrived at a city to be received.

Because of the hierarchy of power, and because of tradition—such as the crown's right to *albergue*, or hospitality—the burden of hosting the monarch and his or her entourage was firmly placed on the municipalities.³¹¹ In other words, every time the king, queen, or any close family member was received into a city, the city had to pay for the

³¹¹ Hospitality usually included lodging for the royal family and perhaps some food (*yantar*), although the latter was rare in the case of Castile. Most of the costs associated with a reception were related to ceremonial accoutrements and entertainment.

affair.³¹² Despite recent scholarly attention to late medieval ceremonial culture, the critical role that cities played in organizing and financing such ceremonies (especially those of reception) remains a largely unexamined subject.³¹³ Yet the issues raised by their finance and preparations are vitally important, and not just in economic terms. Such ceremonies were enormously expensive and required vast resources of various kinds. They were significant not only economically, but also in political, social, and even ecological terms. Who had to provide money and labor, how resources were acquired and allocated, and who made the decisions for how this was all to be accomplished were therefore questions of paramount importance to the community and depended on established networks of governance. That is to say, at the root of ceremonial finance are questions of power. The answers to these questions help us appreciate the enormous contributions of the cities to what has often been considered a “royal entry.” The analysis here rightly places the cities at the center of the process. To reconstruct the centrality of the urban economy on has to: 1) expose the general contours these ceremonies, 2)

³¹² While municipalities paid the brunt of the expenses related to royal receptions, it should also be mentioned that cathedral chapters, guilds (*gremios*), and various confraternities also contributed toward expenses and preparations, often as part of their own ceremonial reception. Here I hold to strictly municipal corporations, because their records have been the most neglected; it is here that one can see power being negotiated between kingdom-wide, regional, and local interests; and because cities had enormously important economic and military roles in this period.

³¹³ Many historians (most notably specialists of Castilian history) looking at the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have shied away from any discussion of the costs of such events, since financial accounts are very rare before the 1480s. Curiously, such questions are frequently asked by historians of Spanish America, presumably because their post-colonial framework predisposes their analyses to questions of oppression and hegemony. One important example of the Americanist focus is Steven Flinchbaugh’s thought provoking article on the “Economic Aspects of the Viceregal Entrance in Mexico City”: *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (1996): 345-365.

For medieval Europe, important exceptions include: Lorraine Attreed, *The King’s Towns: Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs*. American University Studies. Series IX, History, vol. 197 (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); an essay by David Nicholas on municipal expenditures in Ghent; and the recent book on the court of Isabel I by Álvaro Fernández. See David Nicholas, “In the Pit of the Burgundian Theater State: Urban Traditions and Princely Ambitions in Ghent, 1360-1420,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 271-195, and Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La corte de Isabel I. Ritos y ceremonias de una reina (1474-1504)* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2002).

describe then the particular decision-making and financial structures that gave them their shape, and 3) explain the rather coercive mechanisms of provisionment that sustained the process.

Organizationally, it is important to remember that behind every economic transaction there was a decision made by a governing entity. Most often, this entity was the municipal government of the receiving city; sometimes, however, the monarch also contributed to the decision-making process, intervening on matters large and small—although this varied according to political circumstances. On the municipal side, while the structure of each city's government differed slightly from that of its counterparts, the process was generally undertaken by city's various deliberative, executive, and accounting bodies. Chief among these was the city council, which received incoming correspondence from the monarch, deliberated on it, and decided upon what actions to take. In the case of a ceremonial reception, this most notably would have entailed the establishment of a budget and timetable for the ceremonial reception, allotment of funds or fundraising measures to support it, and designation of officers to execute it.³¹⁴ On the royal side, monarchs interacted with city officials making their will known via letters and personal agent. Depending on the particular power dynamics between the two parties, the monarch could help shape the overarching plans for a ceremonial reception. These

³¹⁴ “On hearing of the pending arrival of a new viceroy, the Cabildo chose from among its members, a supervisory committee for the festivities. One of its members or some other respected vecino was named *mayordomo* (steward). The committee and steward oversaw repairs, furnishings, and remodeling at the houses that the city rented for the viceroy and his entourage in Otumba, Guadalupe, and San Cristóbal... These duties were time consuming, but they also opened up new avenues of personal power and influence. What would seem a thankless task seems also to have been a source of patronage. The committee controlled not only the provisioning of the ceremony but also many of its appointments. They signed contracts for materials, food, drink, and livestock and made the most of their position, directing orders to their ‘clients’ in the Cabildo and Consulado.” Flinchpauch, “Economic Aspects of the Viceregal Entrance in Mexico City,” 356-357.

interactions between city and monarch, and the large-scale ceremonial blueprints that resulted from them, were often recorded as the city council deliberated, drafted, and adjusted its plans.

Outlining the total cost of a ceremonial reception can be a difficult task. In theory, one could simply add all the figures associated with a given ceremony and arrive at a total. In practice, though, the documents detailing the expenses were created over the course of several months, or even years, and represent dozens of individual payments to separate parties. Therefore, even documents labeled “Costs from the ceremonial reception of ___ monarch” do not list all the expenses, but rather represent a partial list of what was disbursed at a particular moment for a particular purpose.³¹⁵ Thus, because of the incomplete nature of the evidence, it is hard to provide an accurate total cost for an entry ceremony, let alone the “average” cost of such a ceremony.

What is possible is to mark out the probable extremes, defining a range of costs for ceremonial receptions. To err on the side of caution, I have relied on projected budgets drawn up before a ceremonial reception occurred, which provide a stable index for comparison.³¹⁶ For the period under review, I have found three such figures for Castile: the reception of King Fernando into Seville in 1477 (300,000 *maravedís*), the

³¹⁵ Take for instance, the report of “The *maravedís* that were spent on the festivals of the lady princess” or the mandate (*mandamiento*) to “take resolve the account (*reçebir en cuenta*) of the *mayordomo* Rodrigo de Ballesteros [with] the 236,686 *maravedís* that were spent... on the reception of the King, Queen, and Prince, our lords,” both of which detail only the expenses related to the *palio*, or ceremonial canopy. See respectively 8 May 1497, “Los maravedis que se gastaron en las fiestas dela señorita princesa,” and 3 January 1500, “Mandamiento de Sevilla por donde ... reçebir en cuenta al mayordomo Rodrigo de Ballesteros dosientas e treynta e seys mill e seteçientos e ochenta e seys maravedis que se gastaron ... en el reçibimiento del Rey e dela Reyna e del prinçipe, nuestros señores,” Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

³¹⁶ Because I am interested here in the order of magnitude, whether the cities met a given budget or came in under or over it is not so important. The question that interests me is what was considered an appropriate expenditure.

reception of Princess Juana and Prince Felipe into Madrid in 1502 (200,000 *maravedís*), and the reception of Queen Juana and King Felipe I into Burgos in 1506 (600,000 *maravedís*).³¹⁷

The two latter are most easily compared, since they are separated by a short time span. The figure from Madrid, a small city at the time, suggests that 200,000 *maravedís* was probably the minimum cost of an acceptable ceremonial reception, about a third of what was probably the maximum, 600,000 *maravedís*, spent by a major city such as Burgos only four years later.³¹⁸ A comparison of the projected budgets from Seville and Burgos is a bit more complicated, since their ceremonies were separated by about three decades. What unites the two cities is their similar size and status as major commercial hubs. Seville was a port city on a navigable stretch of the Guadalquivir River, with an economy oriented toward the south and commercial dealings throughout the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic. Burgos, although a land-locked city on the Arlanzón River (a non-navigable branch of the Duero River), served as a major point-of-exchange for Castile's highly profitable wool trade. Every year millions of sheep throughout the kingdom were shorn for their wool in the late springtime, much of which was destined for export, being bought up by the great wholesale merchants of Burgos. These wholesalers then exported it to their agents elsewhere in Europe—most notably Italy, Flanders, and

³¹⁷ See respectively: 3 September 1477 (top right margin says 1478), “Mandamiento de Sevilla para comprar dies e seys varas de brocado,” Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, citing both 300,000 and 310,00 as the budget; the city hall minutes for Madrid, 4 March 1502 and 11 November 1502, *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 18, 70; Sección Histórica, número 4290-20 #32 and número 2327 #4, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³¹⁸ Madrid's main advantage was its centrality within the Iberian Peninsula. Technically, it had the status of *villa*, and not *ciudad*, although both it and Valladolid kept this peculiar legal status even when they grew enormously in size and population in the sixteenth century.

England—where the high-quality wool of Spanish Merino sheep was in great demand in the textile industries.³¹⁹

Although the figures from Seville (1477: 300,000 *maravedís*) and Burgos (1506: 600,000 *maravedís*) are separated by a good many years, then, the cities themselves shared the role and status of a commercial hub of international importance. In addition, partial data from the 1508 ceremonial reception of King Fernando into Seville (only two years after the reception of his daughter and son-in-law into Burgos) indicates that the city spent 157,000 *maravedís* on just one type of urban beautification—twelve triumphal arches. Because it is likely that large commercial cities spent similar quantities on their ceremonial reception preparations, Seville’s total costs for 1508 were probably similar to the 600,000 spent by Burgos in 1506.

Whether large or small, each city provided vital, pre-existing decision-making apparatuses. Nearly every decision and action made by these apparatuses was recorded in the city’s administrative documents. This paperwork was considerable, and to judge from the documentation that has survived for each ceremonial reception, there would have been dozens, perhaps even hundreds of individual bills of sale, financial reports, and “time-sheets” detailing the number of days worked by day laborers. The exact number of financial documents that would have been generated remains elusive, however, not only because of the general vicissitudes of history and archival documents, but also because the preservation of financial and accounting documents has its own problems. The sheer

³¹⁹ Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain’s Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 167-177.

volume of a city's financial paperwork, as in modern times, would have required periodic disposal of all but the most important documents.

These many variables mean that the type of documentation that has survived into modern day varies from city to city. For most cities, the archives of municipal accounting bodies have not survived. Fortunately, some of the material has survived because it was produced in duplicate form and held in separate, smaller archives of the various entities that submitted paperwork to the accounting bodies. In Seville, the *mayordomo*—an executive officer who coordinated all large-scale work projects of the city—held his own archive, which in later centuries became part of the city's municipal archive, providing us with copious documents related to municipal accounting and construction.³²⁰

Although the surviving documentation varies from city to city, we can still get an idea of the large number of financial transactions and amount of accompanying paperwork that would have occurred for every ceremonial reception. For most cities we can find at least fragmentary data provided in the city-council minutes (*libros de actas*), which often include summaries of the city's expenses and specific municipal deliberations, decisions, and financial transactions. At a minimum, each one of these transactions would have involved its own contract (*obligación*) and bill of sale (*carta de pago*), usually in duplicate form, and this was but one of several projects that the ceremonial reception would have entailed. We can often combine this data, with that found in royal letters sent to interact with the municipal decision-making apparatus.³²¹

³²⁰ These are to be found in Sección XVI (Mayordomado) of the Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

³²¹ For some cities, such as Burgos, an unusually large number of original royal letters has survived. These are to be found in the *Sección Histórica* of the Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

A cost as large as that of a ceremonial reception undoubtedly caused a strain on a city's financial mechanisms, which most often caused municipal administrators to devise highly creative solutions. This was especially the case, since events such as ceremonial receptions occurred only sporadically and was largely unpredictable. It is not surprising therefore, that these extra-ordinary events most often required extra-ordinary means to finance them.³²² Although some of these means were royally sanctioned, it is important to remember that their actual execution was undertaken by municipal personnel.

Where the funding would come from was not always immediately apparent. Thus, when in 1497 city officials learned that princess Margarita was to be received into Valladolid, they commissioned the count of Ribadeo and Rodrigo de Verdesoto, both *regidores*, along with one García Gonzales, to “go see [i.e. investigate] ... where there could be monies [to cover] the costs that should be made for the ceremonial reception of the lady princess.”³²³ We are not told where they were to look exactly, but logic would dictate that city officials started with what was at hand and then widened the net of financial improvisation as necessary.

The first means of finance were the city's ordinary financial reserves, the *propios*, or those funds that were “their own,” as the term implies—in contrast to funds that went

³²² During normal circumstances, municipal revenue derived primarily from three sources: a) property-based rents and revenues, b) fees and tolls from commercial activities, and c) extraordinary revenues. The legal and commercial traditions behind the specific sources of revenue are quite complicated and very difficult to translate into English in any sort of meaningful way. In Spanish, the sources are: “(a) Rentas Territoriales (Paso del ganado, Arrendamiento de Comunes, Bienes Propios, Dehesas y Nihares); (b) Rentas sobre actividades mercantiles (Peso y Cuchares, Agua, Mojonería, Correduría, Red del pescado, Tiendas y Portales); and (c) Ingresos extraordinarios (Sisas y Derramas).” *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. V (1502-1515), xvii.

³²³ “[Margin: Comisión que se dio para lo del rescibimiento de la señora prinçesa al corregidor e al Conde de Ribadeo e Verdesoto e Garçia Gonçales.] Este dicho día por los dichos sennores, Corregidor e Regidores, fué encomendado e dado cargo a los dichos sennores Corregidor e Conde de Ribadeo e Rodrigo de Verdesoto, regidores, e a García Gonçales, para que ellos vean las cosas donde se podrá aver dineros para los gastos que se ovieren de fazer para el rescibimiento de la señora prinçesa,” 5 April 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 85.

directly to the king.³²⁴ However, without the costs for ceremonial receptions being part of the regular budget, the reserves found in the *propios* were usually insufficient to cover all but a small fraction of the cost.³²⁵ As with modern city finances, municipal coffers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were precarious. Madrid's city officials knew the ceremonial reception would be impossible to cover from its ordinary budget because, as they explained in 1502, there was little in "the tax coffers of the city, [which] is exhausted" of resources. It is hard to know how exaggerated this statement is, since it was always in the interest of the cities to claim that they were poor, but what is important was that such a claim was at least plausible (and in this case seems to be genuine).³²⁶

Most often, the magistrates resorted immediately to the next line of finance, which was to seek royal permission to institute an extraordinary sales tax, called a *sisá*. In this form of tax, the consumer received less product than he or she paid for, and the money that was overpaid was collected by the vendor and given periodically to a tax collector. The tax was typically implemented for food staples and wine, although in theory, it could be applied to almost any consumable merchandise (*mercancías*) sold within the city limits. In the latter instance, typical list of what was taxed might look like the one included in the city hall minutes of Madrid, for 14 August 1504 (to my knowledge not associated with a ceremonial reception). The consumables listed include: meats; fresh and dried fish and sardines; cured pork; fresh pork; fresh kid; wine; ordinary woolen cloth, silk, satin, and fine woolen cloth; doublets and footwear; olive oil; cheese;

³²⁴ Principally I mean the *alcabala*, but other taxes as well.

³²⁵ The *propios* of a city came from a variety of sources, including taxes, fees, penalties, fines, and from city-owned lands and other properties and the income they produced.

³²⁶ "propios de la Villa, que está muy fatigada," 4 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 18. Similar statements can be found in Valladolid's minutes for 1497.

hides from domestic animals; wax; various kinds of imported cloth (*lienzos e bretañas e holandas y fustanes e estameñas*); vegetable produce; sheepskins with the fleece still attached and other kinds of animal skins (*zamarros e aforros*); candles; salt; various other types of coarse cloth (*sayal e xarga e calzil*); and animal hides.³²⁷ In this instance, the tax collected at the point of sale was to be three percent (also reported as 30 per thousand, or *treinta por millar*).³²⁸

To modern sensibilities, this may seem unfair, since clearly it was a regressive tax, placing the largest burden on the poorest segment of society. However, in many ways this was the only sort of tax that city officials could institute, since people with the privileges of tax exemption fought hard to preserve them.³²⁹ Knights, nobles, and ecclesiastics were often exempt, but the exact roster of who would and would not pay the *sis*a was decided at the local level, largely according to tradition and precedent.³³⁰ For

³²⁷ “[Margin: Sisa.] Acordose por los dichos señores, vista la çedula de sus Altezas que manda que se conpre trigo para dos meses a lo menos, que se conpren quatro mill hanegas, tres mill para la Villa e mill para la tierra, e questo seche en sisa en la Villa, de aqui a Todos Santos, en las cosas siguientes: En las carnes, un maravedí en cada arrelde. Pescado seco e remojado e sardinas, un maravedí en cada libra. Toçino aßejo, dos maravedis en cada arrelde. Puerco fresco, dos maravedis en cada arrelde. En cada cabrito, aora se venda en pie o por quartos, dos maravedis en cada uno. Vino açunbrado, un maravedi en cada açunbre. Paños mayores e menores y sedas al peso e rasos y chamelotes, treinta maravedis de cada millar que vendieren. Jubeteros e calçeteros, treinta maravedis el millar de lo que vendieren. Panilla del azeite, dos cornados en cada panilla. Queso, un maravedi en cada libra. Cuero vacuno e cordovanes e vadanas, tres maravedis por çiento de lo que vendieren. En la çera que vendieren, tres maravedis el çiento. De los lienços e bretañas e olandas y fustanes e estameñas, tres maravedis el çiento. En los ortelanos, tres maravedis el çiento. En çamarros e aforros, tres maravedis el çiento. Candelas, un maravedi en cada libra. En la sal, un maravedi en el çelemín. En sayal e xarga e calçil, tres maravedis el çiento. En los pellejos al peso, tres maravedis el çiento.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 170.

³²⁸ Items sold by the pound or by volume were assessed a fee per unit sold, such as one *maravedí* for every *libra* of cheese sold, or one *maravedí* per *çelemín* of salt sold, which was probably something close to the three percent.

³²⁹ Moreover, the rich had other ways to avoid paying the tax, such as using their wealth and social connections to procure consumables in bulk (*por grueso*) outside the city and its tax collection network. See, for example, the royal letter reporting concerns of the magistrates of Burgos that the richest citizens were dodging the *sis*a on wine by these very means: Valladolid, 4 April 1505. Sección Histórica, número 4290-19, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³³⁰ Precedent was very powerful, which is why those who had not paid taxes before fought never to do so. For once they did, they would usually remain on the roster of payers thereafter. Sometimes city officials

instance, for the 1506 reception of Juana and Felipe I into Burgos, the monarchs stated that city officials were to institute a *sisa* “according to the manner in which it was implemented in the past.” There were those who would pay (“those who until now have contributed and paid during similar *sisas* in the past”), and those who would not pay (those who had traditionally not paid, plus “religious and ecclesiastic persons” whom the monarchs specifically exempted).³³¹ What is significant here is that the monarchs were largely leaving the details of the roster of taxpayers up to the discretion of the city magistrates and local custom.³³² Thus, at the heart of ceremonial reception finance one finds a complex negotiation of power, wherein the crown granted the cities permission to institute certain financial measures, and made special provisions to exempt certain persons, but the broad contours of the plan were drawn up and executed locally.

If a reasonable sales tax was not enough to raise sufficient revenue, or if collection were sluggish, municipal officials would look outside the city limits. These officials, with royal permission, could institute a *repartimiento*, or a “partitioning” of the financial burden between the city and its hinterland, a measure meant to supplement, or subsidize (*subvenir*), municipal coffers.³³³ Also called a *derrama*, or “flow-over,” in the Madrid area, this measure might take the form of an application of the same *sisas* found within the city limits to the hinterland (variously called *lugares*, *tierra*, or *comarca*)

sought to expand their base of tax payers, by seeking the king's grace (*merced*), which could override most any legal or traditional restriction.

³³¹ “segund é de la manera é en las cosas que hantiguamente se echava... los que fasta aquy han contribuydo é pagado en las otras sysas semejantes pasadas... religiosos é personas eclesyastycas,” 4 April 1505. Sección Histórica, número 4290-19, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³³² The king did exert some prerogative, however, such as making the exemption for religious persons.

³³³ The ability of city officials to institute these measures depended entirely on the monarch's permission and mandate (*licencia y facultad*), which temporarily empowered them legally to do so. Some readers will be more familiar with the *repartimientos* associated with the reconquest of Muslim lands, where, after surveying the properties, conquered lands were divided and distributed among the victors.

under the city's jurisdiction, but it could also be a simple commandeering of cash, goods, or even services.³³⁴

The decision makers made a list of all the communities within the designated area specifying what each was to contribute, in what quantities, and by when. Then, a “copy of the *repartimiento*” list was given to messengers (perhaps a combination of royal and municipal agents) who were to travel to each location and communicate the orders to the town council (*concejo*) or other entity representing a given community.³³⁵ The parties were notified what “each one of you” was to contribute.³³⁶ Each community mentioned was to take its allotted contribution to town, show it to the proper officials (who kept track of who complied and when), and sell it.³³⁷ The goods were to be registered before city officials and sold “publicly in the town squares and markets of the said city,” probably intended as a measure against the development of a black market.³³⁸

³³⁴ I use the word conscription to highlight the similarity between this practice and military levies of men, materials, and services. In fact, in Spanish both measures were described using the same word: *repartimiento*. (See for instance, those measures found in “una carta de sus Altezas e un repartimiento de los peons, vallerteros e lançeros, que cabe este año a esta villa e su tierra e provincia,” 22 February 1488. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 105. Likewise, both measures were associated with the very important task of acquiring provisions (*abastecimiento*). Thus, when Infante Fernando (uncle of the future king Juan II) sought provisions before he went to war against the Moors, he implemented a *repartimiento* for supplies and people: Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del serenísimo Don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre*, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 68, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, vol. II (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1877), 288.

³³⁵ The existence of such a list is mentioned in a document from Burgos, dated 11 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3025, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, The many potential officials to whom this document is addressed included the, “Concejo, justicias, regidores, escuderos, ofiçiales, omes buenos delas villas é logares asy de los que son de la tierra é jurisdicïon desta cibdad de burgos, como los que son en su comarca.”

³³⁶ “cada vno de vos,” 11 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3025, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³³⁷ In one particular case, the goods were to be sold to “to this my court [that is to say, to the monarch and his royal entourage]” “a esta mi corte,” 11 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3025, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³³⁸ “vos presenteys con ello ante los dichos allcaldes é corregidor para que ellos hos den fee de como aveys traydo el dicho para [que] lo vendeys públicamente en las plaças é mercados desta dicha çibdad,” 11 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3025, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

The parameters for instituting *repartimientos* (and the same is true for the *sisas*) were quite complex and highly planned. Such measures were only intended for short-term use, with clear beginning and ending dates specified, and they were only to accumulate a designated amount. Upon reaching that amount, the measures expired. There were also specific plans for who would contribute what, and in what amounts—such obligations targeted both specific individuals and communities as a whole. Municipal planners set about distributing the burdens over a wide geographical area, although even these measures were disproportionately convenient for the city itself. The typical scope of such plans can be seen in the case of the 1506 reception into Burgos by Juana and Felipe of Habsburg, where city magistrates were to “institute a *repartimiento* among the cities and villages and places that are within ten leagues of the city.”³³⁹ With a conversion factor of 18,283 feet (3.5 miles) per *legua*, ten *leguas* was a radius of 35 miles.³⁴⁰ When we calculate the surface area of our circle, we see that the *repartimiento* was distributed over a large area indeed, some 3,700 square miles. The success of a *repartimiento* depended on the soundness of the master plan, which had to raise sufficient quantities, while preventing an excessive burden on any one community. How burdens were distributed by the cities can be seen in the parameters for a *repartimiento* instituted by Madrid in 1502.

For the ceremonial receptions this year, a plan of *repartimiento* was devised to raise 200,000 *maravedís*. The plan placed most of the burden on the rural communities

³³⁹ “é si para ello fuere necesario hazer algund repartimiento por las çibdades é villas é lugares que estan diez leguas aldrredor dela çibdad,” 29 January 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3023, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³⁴⁰ 1 *legua* = 20000 *pies burgalésés*, or 18,283.099 U.S. feet: Haggard, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents*, 79.

(*tierra y lugares*) under its jurisdiction.³⁴¹ It specified that the city (*villa*) of Madrid would pay 25,000 (12.5 %), with the other 175,000 (87.5 %) being covered by the surrounding communities, to be paid over the course of three years (30 + 60 + 85 thousand respectively).³⁴² Although the 12.5 % that Madrid was to pay may not seem like much, upon close inspection it is clear that the city would have felt a serious financial burden, especially with regard to cash flow. Records for Madrid's annual ordinary income for the period between 1505 and 1510 are relatively complete, showing a meager 21,523 *maravedís* per annum, on average.³⁴³ Thus, Madrid's 12.5% contribution amounted to 116% of its ordinary annual revenue. While Madrid's *repartimiento* would raise 200,000 *maravedís*, simple addition of all the recorded financial disbursements shows that the actual expenses were much higher. The actual payments made by the city council of Madrid for the *palio* and municipal uniforms reached 216,400 *maravedís*, and this only included outfits for the major officials.³⁴⁴ By the end of organizing the ceremony, the city would spend an additional 7,500 *maravedís* on uniforms for minor officials and over 20,000 *maravedís* on urban beautification, entertainment costs, stipends, and so on, surpassing the 200,000 *maravedís* to be raised by the *derrama* by at least 43 % (it would probably reach 50%, if we had prices for all the items listed).

³⁴¹ “propios de la Villa, que esta muy fatigada,” 4 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 18.

³⁴² For details, see minutes for 4 March 1502 and 11 November 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 18 and 70.

³⁴³ María del Carmen Cayetano Martín, “Hacienda: Rentas reales y concejiles,” *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño, 1464-1600*, vol. V (1502-1515), xvii-xviii. To arrive at this figure, I calculated the average annual income per source, so as to minimize the error produced by missing data from the years not recorded. That is to say, that for each source, I added the quantities and divided by the years that are actually recorded (and then added these averages), rather than adding all quantities and dividing by six, the number of years between 1505 and 1510.

³⁴⁴ *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 19-20.

The city would have paid the difference, raising its long-term total contribution to at least 68,832 *maravedís*, or about three times its ordinary annual revenue.³⁴⁵ What is more, since Madrid would receive the contributions from its hinterland slowly over the course of three years, it would have paid all the money for the ceremonial reception up front (about ten times Madrid's ordinary annual revenue). Thus, even though Madrid would eventually recuperate much of the initial cost, the city would apparently have suffered from a severe shortage of cash in the interim. Such shortfalls make it is clear that *derramas* and *repartimientos* were only meant to subsidize or partially defray the costs of a ceremonial reception, not cover the total costs. This is why the total of individual payments associated with such ceremonies far surpasses the quantities raised by fund raising measures, such as *derramas* and *repartimientos*.

Most often, municipal financing of a ceremonial reception would have required several measures to be used in conjunction. Some monies could perhaps be found in the *propios* for immediate use, and some contributions (such as labor and materials) could likewise be collected in the short-term, but the bulk of the monies were probably borrowed in one way or another. It seems that the common practice was for the city to pay for all materials and services up front, usually borrowing against a cash advance raised by a head-tax on all householders (*encabezamiento*), which had to be recovered over time. Because of the constraints of cash flow, contributions of neighboring communities to a *repartimiento* had to be spread out over several years. Monies that

³⁴⁵ Surprisingly, this is twice the burden of the one-and-a-half times a city's annual budget that Steven Flinchpaugh found within the colonial context of royal entries for a viceroy in Spanish America. See, "Economic Aspects of the Viceregal Entrance in Mexico City," 354. At least some of the difference, granted, is that I have only included *ordinary* revenue, while perhaps Flinchpaugh included ordinary and extraordinary (although he does not specify). I suspect, however, that the difference has more to do with the relative size of the cities—since Mexico City was one of two "capitals" of Spanish America.

came in from fund-raising measures such as *repartimientos*, therefore, took years to balance a city's accounts.³⁴⁶ In conjunction with the *sis*a and *repartimiento* (and especially if these measures had come up short), city officials sometimes sought to defray the costs of a ceremonial reception with other, more improvisational measures. In a few instances, they sought royal subsidies, be they in cash, in kind, or with legal favors. Subsidies in kind usually consisted of the very expensive textiles used for the ceremonial canopy, uniforms, and various decorations.

Even with all of these mechanisms working in tandem, the burden on a minor city such as Madrid would have been large in proportion to its population and resources. Nevertheless, even large cities such as Burgos found the unpredictable expense of a ceremonial reception challenging. In one case, the income from a *sis*a was apparently insufficient to recover a city's costs of transporting grain into town. The city council of

³⁴⁶ For an example of this sort of credit plan, see, "Y porque se asento con el dicho Alonso de la Torre que se le pagasen los dichos maravedis en esta manera: çinquenta e tres mill en este año en dos ferias, en la de mayo la meitad, y en la feria de octubre otra meitad, puestas en la Villa de Medina del Campo, y çiento y veinte e siete mill maravedis el año venidero, pagados en las dichas dos ferias, puestos en la dicha Villa de Medina del Campo, para lo qual se otorgo derrama de dozientos mill maravedis para la paga de lo susodicho por los pecheros de villa e tierra, de que cupo a la tierra çiento e setenta e çinco mill maravedis, e a la Villa los pecheros de ella veinte e çinco mill maravedis en su ochavo, segund se otorgo en los avtos de quatro de março, los quales dichos veinte e çinco mill maravedis que asi cabe a la Villa no se reparten, salvo que gozen dellos y los paguen de los çinquenta e çinco mill del encabezamiento de qualquier de los años en questa encabezada asi porque esta fatigada la pecheria de la dicha Villa como, porque pues este es interese de los vezinos de la Villa, del cuerpo della gozen de lo que asi les cabe en el dicho repartimiento; y porquel plazo de las pagas de los dichos maravedis se tomo por tres años, por estar fatigada la tierra, y para conplir con el dicho Alonso de la Torre los dichos maravedis el dicho brocado e granas y sedas, que monto los dichos maravedis de que se otorgaron por pagados, porque lo resçibieron del dicho Alonso de la Torre e en razon de la paga e entregamiento dello renunciaron las leyes, etc. E a ruego de la dicha Villa el tesorero Gomez Guillen y Christoval Donaire y Pedro de la Peña se obligaron por çiento e ochenta mill maravedis de los susodichos, porque los otros se an de tomar de los maravedis del encabezamiento de los años venideros, los qual es de mancomun, etc., se obligaron de pagar al dicho Alonso de la Torre o quien su podere oviere los dichos çiento e ochenta mill maravedis en esta manera: en este año los çinquenta e tres mill en las dichas dos ferias de mayo e octubre, puestas en la dicha Villa de Medina del Campo, y en el año venidero çiento e veinte e siete mill maravedis en las dichas dos ferias de mayo e octubre, todo ello a su costa e mision, so pena del doblo. A lo qual obligaron a si e sus bienes, renunciaron las leyes, dieron poder a las justicias, otorgaron carta firme, etc.," 9 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 20.

Burgos realized that it was losing money so city officials there wrote to King Felipe I, warning him that because of the recent “great expenses that this city has undertaken,” it had “very little [in its] tax coffers,” and that the city “has been left in great need and indebted.”³⁴⁷ They feared that the city would not be able to cover the 600,000 *maravedís* for the upcoming ceremonial reception of Felipe I and Juana.

Citing imminent and disastrous debt, the city magistrates asked for another subsidy on top of the *sis*a, one that would provide “sufficient remedy” (*remedio suficiente*) to cover the costs of transportation.³⁴⁸ The king granted the request, giving the city permission to impose an extra-ordinary sales tax (*sis*a) on any goods sold within the city and its surrounding communities, as Burgalese officials saw fit. I have not yet been able to determine the exact percentage that Burgos would have borne of the original 600,000, but it was probably close to the 12.5 percent borne by Madrid, through distributing the lion’s share to the surrounding communities. An indication of this can be seen in a letter sent to Burgos by Pancorbo (one of its surrounding communities, included in the *repartimiento*) to protest the fact that Burgos had assigned it to pay 15,000 *maravedís* (2.5 % of the 600,000).³⁴⁹

Pancorbo was a small community, and the fact that its representatives protested the contribution of 15,000 *maravedís* (a large amount, even if a low percentage of the total) makes sense when one places it in the context of wages and prices for certain common goods and services at the time. For instance, one finds prices in regulations on

³⁴⁷ As reported in Felipe I’s letter to Burgos, “de los grandes gastos que esta dicha çibdad ha fecho... tiene muy pocos propios ha quedado muy neçesytada e... debdada,” Salamanca, 6 February 1506. Sección Histórica, número 4290-20, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³⁴⁸ “fecho todos las diligencias... que por syssa... no se podía cojer lo que costava traher el dicho pan,” 2 April 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3024, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

³⁴⁹ Pancorbo, 24 March 1506, Sección Histórica, número 2327, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

shoes, promulgated by the city council of Madrid, ranging from 110 *maravedís* for goatskin laced boots (*borseguís de cordouán*) to 7.5 *maravedís* for children's shoes (*çapatos más pequeños, de niños e niñas*) with the average cost of a pair of shoes probably being the 31 *maravedís* set for thick shoes of tanned sheepskin for laborers (*çapatos gruesos, de labradores, de vadana*).³⁵⁰ That is to say, proportionate to consumer prices of the day, Pancorbo's inhabitants would bear a significant burden.

These mechanisms of purveyance relied on a complex informational network and required frequent surveys (*pesquisas*) gathered by deputies. These officials performed the necessary investigations and surveys, later presenting a report (*relación* or simply *información*) to either the ceremonial committee that had been formed, or to the city council directly, or to the royal official resident in the city (the *corregidor*), depending on who had been designated to receive the information. Once a report was submitted, the city council, or a committee formed by it, would then draw up plans for how to distribute the burdens of monies, men, or materials, which it formally set forth in written orders (*mandamientos*). These orders were given to one or more messengers/heralds who travelled to those people and places on the list, informing them usually orally—by crying the message aloud—of the amount they were to contribute, as well as the specific method for its collection. For example, city officials in Madrid “ordered letters of mandate to be made for the [surrounding] territory, so that they [the citizens of each community] will bring fifty *fanegas* of baked bread per day, from tomorrow forward, as long as their Highnesses be here.”³⁵¹ The deputies, as executors of these orders, were given broad

³⁵⁰ Minutes for 7 July 1483. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 247-248.

³⁵¹ “[Margin: Pan cozido.] Mandaron que se hagan mandamientos para la tierra, para que trayan pan cozido cada día çinquenta fanegas mientras aqui estuvieren sus Altezas desde mañana en adelante,” 1 September

temporary legal powers to execute any number of transactions, negotiations, appropriation of assets, and so forth to acquire these materials and services quickly.

These on-site travelling messengers were clearly the linchpin of the communication system. Indeed, it is impressive how well they functioned, informing city officials—and through them, even the king—at the minute level, of who had what commodities and in what quantities. On one occasion, city officials from Madrid sought to acquire grain from the local archbishop, who responded that he had none, because he had already sold it, on order of the *corregidor*. The officials countered by saying that “they are informed that [he had] three thousand *fanegas* to sell... [and he was] to [deliver from this stockpile] one thousand *fanegas* of wheat and one thousand [*fanegas*] of barley.”³⁵² To obtain such precise information, city officials depended on local support and informants, as well as the surveys (*relaciones*) that the “mayor of each rural settlement... [was] to bring regarding the bread grain that exists and the persons who have it.”³⁵³

The actual on-the-ground financial workings of a ceremonial reception were. The devisers of the master plan would have to be intimately acquainted with the area, knowing not only the name and location of a large number of surrounding communities

1494. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 96. 1 *fanega* = 1.58 bushels. Haggard, *Handbook for Translators*, 76.

³⁵² “[Margin: Carta.] Que en lo del pan que se scriva al señor arçobispo, que en lo que mando quel mayordomo diese de lo que conpro de su señoria al preçio que lo conpro, que respondio quel no lo tiene, porque lo tiene vendido a los corregidores que mando su señoria que lo que tiene por vender aqui y en la tierra y comarca lo mande vender para este rescibimiento; pues que son informados que ay por vender tres mill hanegas, que mande dar destas mill fanegas de trigo e mill de çevada y que vaya sobrello Yñigo de Monçon,” 12 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 23.

³⁵³ “Acordaron que daqui a en fin de hebrero se trayan de los lugares de la tierra que se repartio, diez y seis cargas de pan cozido cada dia e que un alcalde de cada lugar venga a terçero dia y traya relacion del pan que ay y que personans lo tienen,” 9 December 1497. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 339.

(possibly hundreds of individual villages), but also recent information as to the population and current productive capacity of each community.³⁵⁴ All of this presupposes prior access to accurate estimates of what types of resources each rural settlement had and in what quantities, as well as pre-existing administrative and financial structures to work with.

These pre-existing municipal mechanisms were temporarily disrupted on the occasion of a ceremonial reception. That is to say, the presence of a royal retinue suspended the normal workings of an urban economy and created a sort of “liminal economy” where the normal rules did not apply. For example, the presence of the royal court caused a temporary surge in demand, and this had repercussions on almost every aspect of the city’s economy.³⁵⁵ To contextualize the disruption, we first should look at the normal workings of the urban economy, which can most easily be described as protectionist. The pre-modern economy existed in a precarious state, easily thrown into chaos by any number of factors, but especially by a short harvest. City officials were all too well acquainted with the boom-and-bust cycles of the economy, perhaps having seen the impact of famine or plague within their own lifetimes. It was to combat these cycles—as best they could—that city magistrates instituted protectionist regulations meant to prevent rapid price fluctuations. To do this, they most often focused on the

³⁵⁴ While such a list is mentioned as having accompanied one of the documents (“veades la dicha copia de repartimiento,” Sección Histórica, número 3025, Archivo Municipal de Burgos), it is currently not attached, and I have been unable to locate it. I extrapolate this estimate of the number of villages from the 10 *legua* radius, and from a partial list of *lugares* that were not to be deprived of their wood, which mentions about 30 communities: Sección Histórica, número 4119, Archivo Municipal de Burgos. Surely the number of communities that did have to contribute would be many more.

³⁵⁵ In his excellent study on this temporary surge in demand, Peter Stabel argues that the common methodology of simply dividing the total money spent by court by average number of days spent yearly in a given city gives false impression of 0.7-2.5 % of total demand. In actuality, he stresses, such demand was punctuated, with some periods with enormous demand (5.8-50%) and others with hardly any. Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit?” 107-108.

control of supply, especially that of food staples (such as grain, bread, and wine) during times of a ceremonial reception. The first thing city officials did was to freeze local supplies of these goods a few days before a ceremonial reception, in order both to keep them available to meet the needs of the court and the citizens, and to create an atmosphere of stability before the impending disruption caused by the ceremonial reception. For instance, municipal authorities in Madrid decided that,

because their Highnesses are coming to this area, and it would be harmful to this city if grain were removed from its territory... they [i.e. city officials] commanded that no one should dare sell any grain whatsoever to anyone who is an outsider and buys it to resell it, [even] if they are wholesalers.³⁵⁶

Similarly, municipal magistrates ordered the nearby village of San Martín to freeze all sales of wine to outsiders from two days before the arrival of Felipe I and Juana until their departure. They specified that “no one is to sell wine for [re]sale outside [these] parts until the princes, our lords, have left this city.”³⁵⁷

The most interesting measures, however, occurred after the court left, since there would be a surplus of accumulated supplies with insufficient local demand to consume them. The city council’s solution was to isolate or quarantine (metaphorically speaking) the surplus from the rest of the city’s economic network and sell it outside the city’s

³⁵⁶ “porque sus Altezas vienen a esta tierra e seria mucho daño desta Villa sacar el pan de su tierra,... mandaron que persona alguna no sea osado de vender a persona alguna que sea forastero e lo conpre para revender, que sean regatones, pan alguno,” 24 August 1501. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 312.

³⁵⁷ “[Margin: Vino de San Martin.] Acordose que dos dias antes de la fiesta se pregone que persona alguna no venda vino para vender fuera parte fasta que los príncipes, nuestros señores, sean partidos desta Villa, so pena quel que lo vendiere e lo sacare lo ayan perdido e sea para los propios,” 12 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 23. In fact, not even magistrates of the city were above such temporary freezes on local goods, and it was prohibited taking part of their salary in grain (a common practice): “Requirio el dicho señor Antonio de Luzon e el procurador e seismero que no se libre pan ninguno de salario ni se gaste, salvo que se guarde para las neçesidades de la Villa,” 27 April 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 33.

territory. This is particularly apparent with the supply of wine. After the royal visit to Madrid in 1514, officials knew well that certain urban inhabitants

have much wine from outside Madrid, brought in with the presence of his Highness, [and] because they cannot sell it without the [royal] court being here... [they should] put things in order so that it [i.e. the wine] is not sold and is [instead] taken out, since [currently] it is to the harm of the city and [contrary] to the ordinances on wine.³⁵⁸

On this occasion, those people in possession of wines from outside Madrid were told to register them within three days, or face the penalty of full confiscation. On an earlier occasion, the reception in 1499, even more extreme measures were taken to isolate the supply of surplus wine.³⁵⁹ Here, in addition to the typical threat of confiscation, city magistrates took physical possession of any keys that gave access to locked stores of non-local wine, gave the owners of the wine three weeks to get rid of it, and bolstered their measures with a fine of 10,000 *maravedís* for noncompliance.³⁶⁰

In short, city officials regulated the movement of supplies quite carefully, understanding that any sudden increase or decrease of a supply had an immediate impact on prices. Such rapid fluctuations in supply were deleterious to the consumer in the long

³⁵⁸ “[Margin: Vino, sobre su entrada.] ... en esta dicha Villa, tienen mucha uva, de fuera, metido con la estada aqui de su Alteza que, pues non lo pueden vender, no estando aqui la Corte, que lo manden proveer, para que no se venda e se saque, pues es en perjuicio de la Villa e de las ordenanças del vino,” 19 May 1514. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 275.

³⁵⁹ “In most literature the Burgundian court is only seen through the often unstable purchase of luxury items. But it is clear that expenditure for the actual food supply of the court was equally important. Demand generated by the daily supply of the court created a stable basis for the urban middle classes to respond to. Networks of supply organized by butchers and wine merchants must have strengthened the urban middle classes, and therefore, indirectly, the demand generated by these middle groups.” Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit?” 104.

³⁶⁰ “[Margin: Vino.] Diose cargo al comendador Amoroso e Alvaro Martinez e Alonso Bujorno que registren todo el vino que se metio de fuera parte estando aqui la Corte e donde estuviere con llave que se tome la llave e donde no la uviere que se escriba e se tome fiador que no se vendiera en Madrid e su tierra e quel termino a que lo saquen sea de aqui a el dia de San Juan de junio primero, so pena de diez mill maravedis para la Camara de sus Altezas e demas de perder el vino e que se registre ante mi,” 3 June 1499. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 109. The syntax of these minutes for June 3 is a bit odd, but since the celebration of St. Juan tends to be around June 24, the “de junio primero” seems to be a retroactive start date for getting rid of the wine, and not the day of St. Juan.

run, even if prices fell temporarily. Much of this control was handled at the city gates, since all goods moving in or out of the city had to pass through these few points in the city's wall. At each of these check-points (called a net, or sieve [*red*]), there were officers who inspected all goods entering and exiting, recorded and reported their findings (probably only periodically, unless something problematic were found), and who often exercised executive authority to refuse the passage of any good, in or out, in accordance with the ordinances established for that particular time and place.

In addition to regulating the movement of goods, city officials also regulated various aspects of the point of sale, including who could buy and sell goods, on what days and at what times, at what locations, and at what price. The magistrates were particularly keen to limit the purchase of mass quantities of goods by what we would call wholesalers. The term they used was *regatones*, which shows their esteem of such professionals, since the term has the pejorative connotation of “haggler,” or even “swindler.” The economic power of these *regatones* was much feared (similar to that of the modern speculator), especially their potential to control a portion of the supply large enough to raise demand, and thereby raise the price. Most often, city ordinances forbade financial dealings with *regatones*, and it was only under special circumstances—such as shortages or times with surges in demand, such as those caused by a ceremonial reception—that they were legally able to act.³⁶¹

³⁶¹ For prohibitions, see “[Margin: Pan.] Acordaron los dichos señores que porque son informados que en los lugares de la comarca esta vedada la saca del pan e a esta causa cargan todos los de fuera que conpran a regate en esta Villa e su tierra, que acordaron e acordavan que asi por esto commo porque sus Altezas vienen a esta tierra e seria mucho daño desta Villa sacar el pan de su tierra, que entretanto que se notifica a sus Altezas para que provean en mandar que en las dichas comarcas no se viede mandaron que persona alguna no sea osado de vender a persona alguna que sea forastero e lo conpre para revender, que sean regatones, pan alguno so pena quel que lo que sacare lo haya perdido e sean los dos terçios para la Villa e el terçio para el que lo tomare e esta misma pena haya el que lo vendiere e los dichos forasteros e commo

While stringent, perhaps, by modern standards, these municipal regulations were meant to protect key segments of the urban populace. Foremost, they were meant to protect the consumer. Even when supplies were short and demand was consequently high, city officials routinely placed price caps as an artificial means of insulating the consumer.³⁶² They also sought to protect the city's suppliers, including farmers, artisans, and merchants. The goal was to ensure the viability of these producers and suppliers, who, after all, were responsible for the city's economic vitality. It is within this context, an abstract one, but one with very tangible outcomes, that we can appreciate the role of the royal court on the city's economy. In short, because the court was itinerant and not a permanent fixture in the urban economy, there was suddenly another set of interests that needed to be accounted for and protected. The royal entourage could be quite large, and simply keeping it fed with a minimum of provisions, without wrecking the local economy, was a feat in itself. City officials knew that the demand represented by the court would far exceed local supply, disrupting the normal economic order.

Ideally, local producers and suppliers would meet all local demand, achieving a profit large enough to serve as an incentive for their continued efforts, but small enough to be seen as acceptable by the consumer.³⁶³ If, after local demand was met, some supplies were left over, then the suppliers would be allowed to sell them outside the city

dicho es repartido e mandaronlo pregonar,” 24 August 1501. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 312.

³⁶² In a politically unstable environment as was Castile in the fifteenth century, officials well knew that food shortages could easily serve as a spark to ignite popular upheavals.

³⁶³ City ordinances established price caps, what they called “just prices,” to defend the consumer. However, such measures had to be acceptable to both parties, or else, logically, the supplier lost incentive to provide his or her goods. See such an instance when, “porque la dicha Villa pone preçios justos a los dichos çapateros e borzequineros en que vendan los dichos calzados, e a causa de ponellos preçio, non quieren vender nin vsar los dichos ofiçios, e quel cabildo de los dichos çapateros hazen ligas e monipodios entre sí contra la Villa, que, si lo hallare ser asy, que les castigue por las penas en que han incurrido,” 2 July 1484. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 344.

and its territory. What was not supposed to happen was for *regatones* or suppliers from outside the city to introduce supplies that would compete with those produced or supplied locally, which would undercut local profits, undermine the business of local suppliers, and temporarily lower prices for the consumer, only to have them inflate hyperbolically once the glut ended.

Although municipal officials usually restricted the movement of goods, there were occasions when they would suspend certain strictures normally present (especially on non-local goods) and allow for temporary free movement. Instances of this can be seen when, at least for the duration of the first day of the royal arrival, the checkpoints at selected gates were removed, allowing greater freedom of movement for goods and people.³⁶⁴ Non-local merchants and even wholesalers could temporarily work within the city limits, and local merchants were given greater leeway to set their own prices in line with those of their foreign competitors. Thus, whenever the king, queen, or prince was in town, Madrid's fishmongers were free "to sell at the prices of those [merchants] of the [royal] court."³⁶⁵ Also, whereas during normal times municipally-sanctioned suppliers faced stiff fines if they failed to keep adequate supplies available for purchase, city officials would sometimes suspend such strictures, since they realized that ensuring a steady stream of supplies could be difficult during a ceremonial reception, and penalties would serve only to drive away would-be suppliers. For example, Pedro de Parla and Diego Galán were commissioned to provide the citizens of Madrid with cheese at two

³⁶⁴ "[Margin: La red.] Que la red de la puerta de Guadalajara se quite donde esta para la entrada de los principes, nuestros señores." *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 22-23.

³⁶⁵ "Iten, que si el Rey e Reyna o el Príncipe nuestros señores a esta Villa vinieren, que pueda vender a los peçios que vendieren los de la Corte," 18 September 1482. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 193.

supply tables, which, during normal times, carried a “one hundred *maravedís* fine per table, for each time there was none.” Upon the arrival of royalty, however, urban officials agreed to suspend the punitive terms (*obligación*) of their commissions. To put it differently, in a surprisingly strong example of reconfigurations of power, the presence of a royal retinue could change the very rules of commerce.³⁶⁶

In preparing for a ceremonial reception, while one branch of the municipal government secured monies from a handful of sources, other branches set about purveying the materials and services necessary to organize the affair. Unlike the *sisá* and *repartimiento*, which were formalized and regulated, with definite beginning and end dates, payment terms, and the like, purveyance of materials was characterized by improvisation and piecemeal accumulation. Since a ceremonial reception required uncommonly large quantities of goods, there were rarely sufficiently large municipal stockpiles to draw from (except in the cases of grain and wine, which were always bulky and required in large quantities for the sustenance of permanent residents).

Most often, it seems municipal agents had to piece together supplies from multiple entities—public and private, secular and ecclesiastical. A good example of this is the case of Seville, where in 1490, the city received Fernando, Isabel, and their daughter, the Infanta Isabel (1470-1498). As was typical, the city held a joust for the entertainment of the monarchs, which required the construction of platform seating (*cadahanso*). For this structure alone, the municipal magistrates had to purvey almost a hundred and fifty cartloads of wood, along with nearly 83 dozen individual beams and planks of various

³⁶⁶ “Obligose Pedro de Parla e Diego Galan... de dar queso en dos tablas abasto... E que por cada vez que faltare en cada tabla pague çien maravedis de pena,... e conque si sus Altezas o los Prinçipes, nuestros señores, o qualquier dellos viniere a esta Villa que la obligación sea ninguna durante su estada en esta dicha,” 17 July 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 49-50.

sizes, from a dozen different suppliers, including: Lope de Flores (merchant), Lope d'Agreda, Juan Gallego (carpenter)—two shipments, Pedro Afán de Ribera, Thomas Martín, a certain Farfán, Juan de Dache Viscayno, a group of carpenters, Bernaldo Pinelo, Maestre Juan, Bernaldo de Mesa, the Hospital of Sant Onofre,³⁶⁷ and even the cathedral (*yglesla mayor*).³⁶⁸

In some ways, it is perhaps not surprising that especially heavy and bulky materials, by necessity, relied on these local networks. For instance, all wood used for platform seating had to be secured by a great many nails, which were bought in a bulk bundle called a *clavazón*. For the 1490 example from Seville, the sources do not specify how many nails of different sizes were in such a bundle, nor do they provide a formula for how many nails were used per plank (the quantity of which is specified). Given the sheer amount of wood involved, though, the *clavazón* in question probably amounted to several hundred (or even a few thousand) nails, probably with various sizes needed for planks of different thicknesses. Even bought in bulk, the bundle of nails was quite costly. To put it in perspective, the bundle of nails cost 10,212 *maravedís*, or about a third of the cost for labor (both master carpenters and general workers) of 27,820 *maravedís*.³⁶⁹ Each of these nails, of course, had to be hand-crafted at a forge by a blacksmith; so much of the cost represents not only the value of the iron involved, but also the costs of mining and smelting it, and the labor of forging it into nails.

³⁶⁷ In personal communication, Juan Gil, prominent researcher and long-time resident of Seville, suggested to me that the Hospital de Sant Euflio mentioned in the document was almost certainly the Hospital of Saint Onofre.

³⁶⁸ July 1490, “Los maravedis que costaron la madera e tabalas e clauason,” Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

³⁶⁹ For the cost of labor, I am including that directly from construction work by the *maestros y peones*, but also the *azacanes* who sprinkled the sand with water to compact it.

What we do know is that the wrought iron from which the nails was made would have been very heavy per cubic unit, between 466 and 487 pounds per cubic foot (lbs/ft³)—although the nails themselves would have been less dense, since there would be spaces between them.³⁷⁰ Because wrought iron is not as strong as modern steel, the fifteenth and sixteenth century nails would have to be thicker than modern steel wire nails, so as not to bend. For the period under review, such a project would probably have entailed several hundred pounds of nails, especially notable since the payload of a cart carrying stone was only around 40 *arrobas*, or 1,014 pounds.³⁷¹ All this is to say that, due to practical constraints and cost-effectiveness, the nails would have been produced locally and relied on local commercial and power networks. Like other bulky and heavy items, they would have created opportunities for people with connections to these networks

Many materials were acquired by commissioning a supplier, but the contracts covering this process were quite different from those of today. The largest difference is that suppliers stood their own surety (*saneamiento*), with unlimited liability.³⁷² In other words, the cities had suppliers (both of goods and services) give them some assurances that the contract would be fulfilled. This was similar to the modern practice of collateral, which helps assure the repayment of a loan. Upon accepting a commission, suppliers of goods placed their property and even their person as the surety that they would supply the

³⁷⁰ Daniel Kinnear Clark, *A Manual of Rules, Tables, and Data for Mechanical Engineers*, 3rd ed. (London: Blackie and Son, 1884), 217. For a meditation on the practical constraints of nails, and how the added weight of these from each round of ship hull repair would have slowed down the vessel, see Gang Deng, *Maritime Sector, Institutions, and Sea Power of Premodern China* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 30-33.

³⁷¹ “la dicha piedra ... ha de aver en cada carretada XL arrovas,” 16 August 1491. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 284. 1 *arrova* = 25.36 U.S. pounds: Haggard, *Handbook for Translators*, 72.

³⁷² For use of the term, see the minutes for 5 April 1497: *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 85.

goods mentioned, under the terms specified. Sometimes they even renounced their legal rights to appeal (*renunciamiento de leyes e poder a las justicias*).

If the supplier failed to meet the terms and obligations to which he had agreed, he incurred a penalty, usually consisting of a fine or confiscation of personal property, which the city would use or sell to recover its losses.³⁷³ On rare occasion, probably if one were grossly negligent in fulfilling one's agreed upon obligations, magistrates would alienate the supplier's goods or person for a term commensurate to the debt he owed to the city. In one such case, a certain Master Yuza, a hydraulic engineer who had agreed to build for Valladolid an apparatus to carry water from the Huerta de las Marinas to the Plaza, "did not fulfill the terms of his contract... causing the city to spend 750,000 *maravedís*." To recover this small fortune, the city auctioned off not only his property, but also Master Yuza himself.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ Not surprisingly, due to the immense risk involved, suppliers were keen to keep the upper hand during the negotiation of the contract. The city hall minutes of Valladolid show that certain magistrates were empowered to purchase all the supplies necessary for the entry of Margarita, "under the terms and penalties that are decided and agreed upon with them [i.e. the suppliers]" : "a los plazos e so las penas que con ellos se concertaren e igualaren," 5 April 14. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 85. While the reflexive voice somewhat obscures the agency of the parties involved, it is still clear that the terms were not completely dictated by city officials.

³⁷⁴ "[Margin: Pregón de Maestre Yuça.] Este dicho día en el corredor alto de la dicha Casa del Consistorio se dió un pregón por Alonso de Lençes, pregonero público del conçejo desta dicha villa, presentes los dichos sennores, Corregidor e Regidores, e el dicho maestre Yuça, fecho en esta guisa:

‘Sepan todos que maestre Yuça, yngeniero, vezino de Guadalajara, tomó a hazer el hedefiçio de la fuente desta villa e se obligó de traer el agua de la Huerta de las Marinas a la Plaça desta villa, segund pasó por recabdo e obligación ante escrivano público. El qual dicho maestre Yuça no cunplió lo que prometió e a que estava obligado e fizo gastar a esta dicha villa DCCL mill maravedís, en los quales fué declarado e se declaró ser debdor e dever a esta dicha villa las dichas DCCL mill maravedís, por las qual es a sido e está preso.

E porque no las ha podido nin puede pagar, a fecho çesión de bienes para que la dicha villa, doquier que fallase bienes suyos, los tome, e asy mesmo a su persona, commo en tal caso el derecho dispone.

E porque la dicha villa quiere vender el derecho que a los dichos sus bienes e persona tyene, mándalo pregonar públicamente, para que dentro de quinze días, a quier más diere por la dicha su persona e bienes, se le dará’,” 9 August 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 134.

Other times, city officials had to rely on private parties for miscellaneous contributions. They might seek loans of cash or materials—often forcibly “borrowed” from the lender—or resort to selling bonds or annuities (*censos*), usually against future municipal revenues to be brought in as taxes, fines, and rents. Clearly this measure could be risky, since it not only put the city in debt for months or even years to come, but it also had a negative effect on the city government’s financial base.

During periods when ceremonial receptions were held frequently, the structure of a city’s financial mechanisms had little time to recover, exacerbating the problem. In Madrid, the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century must have been particularly difficult, with ceremonial receptions occurring in 1497, 1500, and 1502 (along with minor royal visits in 1503 and 1504). In short, Madrid might not have paid off the debt from one ceremonial reception before it had to start paying for the next. The burdens of such end-to-end debt go far in explaining the frugality seen in preparations for ceremonial receptions, at least for certain items. Rarely was any expense spared on the *pallio* or municipal uniforms, but a great many other things might be rented, constructed out of relatively inexpensive materials, or recycled and sold after their use. All this is to say that, however expensive ceremonial receptions were, their finance shows an important element of frugality, and that cities hosting them sought to do so “on the cheap.”

An analysis of the individual costs resulting from a ceremonial reception provides us a variety of information, not only about the urban contributions of infrastructure, methods of finance, and mechanisms of purveyance, but also the legal and cultural precepts that governed them. Consistently, the largest costs were those of the expensive

textiles used for the *palio* (the ceremonial canopy), the uniforms for the city's delegates, the municipal and royal standards (*pendones*), various other decorations, and as prizes for jousts.³⁷⁵ For example, for the reception of Queen Juana and King Felipe into Burgos in 1506, almost one-sixth of the sizeable amount of 600,000 *maravedís* was spent on just the brocade for the *palio* (that is, 96,600 *maravedís*). Similarly, of the very 274,823 *maravedís* documented to have been spent by Valladolid for the reception of Princess Margarita in 1497, a full 270,360 *maravedís* was spent on the textiles for the *palio* and the uniforms of the major and minor magistrates.³⁷⁶

The high cost of these textiles was mostly related to the intrinsic value of their component materials (especially in the case of gold or silver cloth), the specialized knowledge needed to manufacture them, and their relative scarcity. Few places were equipped to produce such luxurious textiles. Additionally, before the advent of modern transportation, moving goods from one region to another increased the cost of the items enormously and added commercial risk.³⁷⁷ Shipments could sink, bandits could attack a caravan, disease and pestilence could appear at a moment's notice, and any number of natural disasters could cause a load of goods to be lost. Thus, in addition to the direct inflationary influence of transportation costs, much of the increased cost of fabrics stemmed from the fact that, before the development of the limited liability company, hefty prices and hefty profits were some of the only incentives for merchants to provide valuable goods in such a risk-prone environment. Often, the sheer difficulty of acquiring

³⁷⁵ This is in absolute terms. In relative terms, perhaps the most surprisingly expensive cost was that for the bundle of nails (*clavazón*) used for the platforms constructed for royal seating and for viewing jousts (a *cadahanso*). See discussion below.

³⁷⁶ Respectively, the amounts spent on these items were 14,000, 210,600, and 45,360 *maravedís*.

³⁷⁷ For a classic statement on land transport in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see, R. S. Lopez, "The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages," *Past and Present* 9 (1956): 17-29.

such textiles was what added to their social value. Thus, many of the most valuable textiles in the heart of Castile were precisely those imported from Flanders, England, and Italy.

Even when textiles were of local origin, they still could be quite expensive due simply to the intensive labor needed to produce them. To produce a woolen cloth, a shepherd first had to care for a sheep for many months and herd it from place to place to feed on the best pasture. Once the wool had reached its optimal length and condition, it was (at a minimum) shorn into a fleece, skirted (removing the dirtiest bunches), sorted according to coarseness and length of the fibers, washed, dried, teased into a uniform web (and perhaps oiled), carded (to align the fibers in certain direction), roved into small strips that were collected onto large spools, spun into thread (giving the roving a twist), often dyed, threaded onto a loom, woven, and finished (in a variety of ways).³⁷⁸ Other textiles had similarly labor-intensive manufacturing processes, which, before fully mechanized production, entailed many, many hours of specialized labor (although pre-modern productive capacity should not be underestimated either).³⁷⁹

Parallel to the financial data themselves, the priority given to textiles is similarly attested by the administrative classifications system used to describe disbursements made for ceremonial preparations. In Castile, this scheme divided the expenses for ceremonial receptions into three general categories, those “for the canopy with which his /her majesty is to be received . . . , the uniforms of [various municipal officials] . . . [and] all the

³⁷⁸ For a general outline of these processes, as well as a discussion of the important role of the wool trade on Spain’s economic and political structures, see Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips, *Spain’s Golden Fleece*.

³⁷⁹ In addition to the monetary value of the textiles, there was also immense social and political value, leading to several clear examples power struggles. See Chapter 5, The Politics of Royal Entries, for a discussion of this.

rest of the expenses.”³⁸⁰ This classification of expenses highlights the importance of textiles, since two of the three categories are textile based, while all of the other expenses of the ceremonial reception are lumped together into a miscellaneous third category. Such a taxonomy, like all such constructs, is a product of the culture that created it. It shows an attempt to arrange the world according to groupings that were perceived as natural. While it is hard to determine which came first, the high cost of textiles or their cultural value, what seems clear is that these were municipally created categories, occurring in the documents of at least two Castilian cities, while not appearing in royal documents.³⁸¹ Thus, what this tells us is that textiles held a place of special importance in the mental landscape of city magistrates in Castile.³⁸² Indeed, the cultural priorities surrounding textiles were such that they monopolized two-thirds of the taxonomy of expenses: those expenses related to the *palio* and those related to the ceremonial outfits of the magistrates.

Outside the realm of textiles, sources show that the third category saw a variety of miscellaneous expenses incurred by the cities with regard to sanitation, decoration, and

³⁸⁰ “Asy para el panno, con que Su Alteza a de ser resçebida, commo para las ropas de la Justiçia e Regidores e otros ofiçiales del Regimiento... commo para todos los otros gastos,” 5 April 1497. Transcribed in Fernando Pino Rebolledo, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990), 85.

³⁸¹ While I am looking at municipal expenses, it is interesting that Peter Stabel has similarly noted the dominance of textiles in his study of the expenses of the Burgundian court, “Spending on art and jewellery is considered as most typical for Burgundian court splendour, although it was clearly surpassed by textiles and fashion.” Peter Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit? Court and City in the Burgundian Low Countries,” in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 101-117, esp. 114.

³⁸² For this taxonomy in Valladolid, see: “Asy para el panno, con que Su Alteza a de ser resçebida, commo para las ropas de la Justiçia e Regidores e otros ofiçiales del Regimiento, a quien se an de dar ropas para el dicho resçebimiento, commo para todos los otros gastos que para él se ovieren de fazer,” 5 April 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 85. For its use in Madrid, see: “[Margin: Derrama.] Otorgaron los dichos señores e seismeros repartimiento de dozientos mill maravedis, por la Villa e tierra para el palio de brocado e ropas de los regidores e otros gastos del resçebimiento de los príncipes,” 4 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 18.

general urban beautification (including the construction of triumphal arches); a whole series of expenses related to various forms of entertainments (including jousts and the running of bulls); and some truly miscellaneous expenses, such as subsidies to city officers and courtiers, gifts of charity, and payments of compensation when something was damaged during the festivities. Sanitation and decoration were a priority for all ceremonial receptions, although they were more important than they were expensive. The relatively minor expenses associated with such beautification efforts typically involved cleaning the streets where the royal entourage was to pass, repairing unsightly defects in streets and buildings, and giving buildings and houses along the route a fresh coat of whitewash.³⁸³

Other areas of urban beautification were enormously expensive, and would see a major increase in costs during the early sixteenth century, when the preparations for ceremonial receptions came to include the construction of triumphal arches. Within the Hispanic kingdoms, ceremonial arches and other ephemeral door and window facings had been used prior to 1500, but they seem to have been relatively modest in scale and cost.³⁸⁴ To judge by the city council minutes of Valladolid, the ceremonial arch erected in 1497 for the reception of Princess Margarita of Austria into the city carried the relatively small price tag of 1,775.5 *maravedís*. Most of the construction costs were tied to the humble material of wood and its transportation. What was particularly modest about the arch was its decoration, executed by a single artist. Francisco Bueso painted two hundred

³⁸³ Typical decorations were textiles, tapestries, branches, and flowers hung along the processional route. These visual elements (and olfactory, in the case of the flowers), were combined with fireworks, torches and other night-time luminaries, as well as the chiming of bells, to assault all the senses with extraordinary sensations.

³⁸⁴ “Arquitecturas efimeras” included “los arcos triunfales, las estatuas y lienzos que recubrían calles y edificios.” Vicente Lleó Cañal, “Recibimiento en Sevilla del Rey Fernando el Católico (1508),” *Archivo Hispalense* [Seville] 188 (1978): 9-23, esp. 9.

individual roses, at two *maravedís* each, for a total of 600 *maravedís* (about a third of the total cost of the arch). For the ceremonial reception of King Fernando into the same city of Valladolid just eight years later (1509), there were four triumphal arches erected—in other words, a four-fold increase in the number of ceremonial arches. I have not been able to find the costs for these, nor for the two triumphal arches erected for the same monarch in 1513, but the cost would have been substantially larger. For the latter reception, Valladolid’s city council minutes provide partial costs showing that some wood and nails used for the arches cost 1,360 *maravedís*, and this does not include the rest of the materials or labor that would have been involved.

The printed pamphlets describing both sets of arches for Fernando’s receptions by Valladolid in 1509 and 1513, however, do allow for some informed speculation. What is immediately apparent about the arches is that they had become much more sophisticated in structure and ornamentation, with the inclusion of platforms for musical and paratheatrical performances, and several signs identifying the allegorical figures that were played by the actors. The first arch of the 1509 series “depicted Fortune with Fernando standing atop her wheel and many defeated kings below. In the upper part of the arch, an inscription read: ‘Si Fortuna mas tovierá, / mas os diera’ [If fortune had more, she would give it to you]. When the royal procession arrived at this arch, Fortune took a golden mallet and drove a large nail into the wheel, thus stopping its motion.”³⁸⁵ Clearly meant to symbolize Fernando’s eternal good fortune and semi-divine favor, the allegory of this first arch was followed by a second arch populated by the Seven

³⁸⁵ Ronald Surtz, “The Entry of Ferdinand the Catholic into Valladolid in 1509,” in *European Medieval Drama*, vol. 6. *A Selection of Papers Presented at the Tenth Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l’étude du Théâtre Médiéval held in Groningen (Netherlands) 2-7 July 2001*, eds. Jelle Koopmans and Bart Ramakers (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 99-108, esp. 103.

Virtues—Faith, Charity, Hope, Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude—each seated on a throne. As the king passed, each actor delivered a small speech in verse. Perhaps most interesting, Hope highlighted the king’s messianic role, urging him to conquer Jerusalem, essentially calling for him to lead a crusade against the Infidel.³⁸⁶ The third arch contained a potpourri of figures, including Fame, “several paradigmatic figures from classical antiquity, the Old Testament, and Spanish history... [and] a fierce lion that held the arms of Valladolid between its paws. At the king’s arrival, the lion tore apart the city’s coat of arms, leaving only the royal arms.”³⁸⁷ From the fourth arch, Time announced that Fernando’s memory and renown was assured and would live on forever.

The two arches of the 1513 reception were similarly complex. Atop the first stood Victory, who handed King Fernando as he passed “the seven crowns that the Roman senate accorded to victorious emperors and generals as part of their triumphal entry procession,” while announcing a heroic interpretation of how Fernando had accomplished the particular act of conquest associated with each crown.³⁸⁸ From the second arch an allegorical figure of the Church (*Ecclesia catholica*) praised Fernando as her personal defender against both Jews and Muslims, and compared the king to a variety of paradigmatic Roman emperors and kings of Spain, most of the latter famous for their victories in the Reconquest against the Moors.³⁸⁹ Thus, although we only have negligible

³⁸⁶ Surtz, “The Entry of Ferdinand,” 105-106.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 106-107. I have severe doubts that this scene of iconographic destruction of the city, or the poem (*villancico*) performed after it, “expressed the city’s joy at the king’s presence and at the expectation that his queen would give birth there [i.e. Valladolid],” as Ronald Surtz maintains. Ibid. See below for my more cynical interpretation.

³⁸⁸ Ronald Surtz, “Waiting for Charlot: Ferdinand the Catholic’s 1513 Entry into Valladolid.” Unpublished manuscript, 1.

³⁸⁹ Luis de Soto, *Recebimiento que se hizo al rey don Fernando en la villa de Valladolid bispera de la epifania deste año de dxiii*, Valladolid, 1513. Facsimile reproduction, *Série: El Jardín de la memoria*, no. 1. (Madrid: El Crotalón, 1982), f. 2r. This document is transcribed in Tess Knighton and Carmen Morte

financial data for the costs of the 1509 and 1513 arches in Valladolid, the elaborate descriptions we have of them allow us to make certain inferences. Because they were capable of supporting multiple actors, and because the decoration had clearly become more sophisticated than mere painted roses, it is safe to assume that the cost of their construction was substantially greater than their modest precursor in 1497.

Corroborating evidence for this comes from King Fernando's reception into Seville in 1508. In strong contrast to the sparse data from Valladolid, the manufacture of Seville's arches was recorded in a booklet of some 96 folios, detailing the daily expenses of the project. The twelve triumphal arches erected for this occasion carried the hefty price tag of 157,000 *maravedís* (that is, an average of 13,083 *maravedís* per arch). At least two things help account for the tremendous increase in price of decorative ceremonial arches between 1497 (1,775.5 *maravedís*) and 1508 (157,000 *maravedís*). First, there was the increased scale of the project; instead of just one or two, there were now twelve arches. Second, it is clear that the introduction of the triumphal motif brought with it a tremendous increase in the cost of materials and labor. In short, the new motif *a la antigua* entailed several new visual and aural elements, including not only actors and musicians (presumably paid separately), three-dimensional moldings, cast and sculpted surfaces, figurines, and a host of visual effects meant to emulate marble, textiles, and other rich materials.³⁹⁰ Whereas the 1497 arch was made of relatively humble materials

García, "Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119-163, esp. 159-162, although the reader should be aware that the specific layout of the paragraphs in the transcription is confusing, forcing the reader to turn the pages back and forth to read the descriptions of the crowns in the correct order.

³⁹⁰ Lleó Cañal suggests that the appeal of such ephemeral structures (*arquitecturas efímeras*) was their low cost, easy methods of construction, and lack of structural limitations, since the materials were plastic and allowed for experimentation, such as achieving the visual effect of marble. They allowed for things rather impossible to achieve with conventional architecture. Of course, this perspective is relative to the cost and

(wood and paint) and simple workmanship (even if the roses held the illusion of three-dimensionality), the new motif required more plastic materials, such as cardboard, plaster of Paris, and papier-mâché, as well as a great deal more labor and skill to work on them.³⁹¹

In addition to the increase in number and sophistication, an important factor explaining the inflated costs of ceremonial arches is the particular political circumstances at the moment of the ceremonial reception. With this in mind, it makes sense that King Fernando's 1508 entry into Seville saw such an increase in number and cost of triumphal arches. Queen Isabel had recently died in 1504, and the marriage of Princess Juana to Felipe of Habsburg had failed to provide an uncontested succession. In fact, the marriage had proven to be quite divisive. Some Castilians supported Juana as her mother's successor, but others thought her incompetent; some supported Felipe, but others considered him a meddling and arrogant "foreigner," a notion that Felipe reinforced when he returned to the Netherlands after having been made king of Castile only recently. Other factions supported Fernando's pretensions to act as king of Castile, although even some of his supporters found it insulting to Isabel's memory that he remarried so quickly (1505) and pursued a new configuration of alliances surrounding his new queen, Germaine de Foix, with whom he clearly hoped to sire a new heir. Thus, for a multitude of reasons (and I have only provided the briefest of summaries here), the

labor of conventional architecture. Relative to previous ephemeral architecture, however, the materials and techniques needed for the triumphal arches was far more than previous simple arches. Lleó Cañal, "Recibimiento ... del Rey Fernando (1508)," 10.

³⁹¹ The 96 folio booklet, in fact, shows the contributions of a dozen or so workers (with various skill and wage levels) over the course of several months, from 9 September 1508 to 12 December 1508. Sección XVI (Diversos), doc. 1010, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

progress of royal consolidation and centralization made by the Catholic Monarchs over the course of thirty-five years threatened to break down.³⁹²

By 1507, King Fernando was embroiled in an important revolt by certain factions of the nobility in the southern province of Andalucía. He went to Córdoba, defeated resistance by a faction of nobles, and tore down their stronghold, the castle of Montilla, as an example to other factions.³⁹³ He then proceeded to Seville with his new wife, Germaine de Foix, to make his presence felt. He arrived at Seville, where he was guided through the twelve triumphal arches by city magistrates. That very night (Saturday, 28 October 1508), the two heads of local rebellion, the Duque de Ureña and Duque de Medina Sidonia, fled Seville, whereupon the only stronghold left, the Fortress of Niebla, capitulated after a brief assault.³⁹⁴

In similar fashion to what David Nirenberg found for ritual violence against Jews, the particularities of each instance of a ceremonial reception varied according to immediate, local circumstances.³⁹⁵ From this perspective, it is understandable that the 1497 ceremonial reception into Valladolid only had one ceremonial arch, and a modest one at that. The reception was a celebration in honor of a princess's marriage, not a demonstration of royal triumph. Moreover, while Fernando's 1508 ceremonial reception by Seville was clearly meant to be a visible demonstration of his power and political capital, his later receptions by Valladolid did not have the same stakes. By the end of

³⁹² What Lleó Cañal characterizes as “anti-aristocratic and centralist work”: “labor antiaristocrática y centralizadora”: “Recibimiento ... del Rey Fernando ... (1508),” 20.

³⁹³ Ibid., 20.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 22.

³⁹⁵ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996). R.I. Moore previously considered the phenomenon of violence to be part of broader patterns; see his work on *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1987).

1508, Fernando's position was much more secure. He had defeated the nobility at home and succeeded in forming the League of Cambrai against Venice abroad. While his reception into Valladolid in 1509 still employed the motif of a royal triumph meant to provide "a visible and dramatic recognition of his quasi-monarchical powers," he no longer faced the same challenges, and the number of triumphal arches exalting him fell from twelve to four.³⁹⁶ Four years later, in 1513, his position was even more secure, having annexed Navarre and ended a centuries-long dynastic rivalry, while at the same time scored a victory against French influence in the Iberian Peninsula. It is probably not coincidental that his reception by Valladolid this same year presented only two arches.³⁹⁷

In additions to the understandably high costs of ceremonial arches, a peculiar source of miscellaneous expenses—not mentioned by any of the secondary literature I have come across—was that of stipends and subsidies paid out to municipal agents. These most often were to cover their travel expenses incurred while gathering information in preparation for a ceremonial reception, while delivering orders to nearby communities, or while gathering supplies.³⁹⁸ It also seems to have been conventional to occasionally disburse (*librar*) subsidies to the royal provisioner (*repostero*) or royal chamberer (*apostador*), either in cash or in kind, although documentation for these is

³⁹⁶ Surtz, "The Entry of Fernando," 99-100.

³⁹⁷ In future generations, when Spanish monarchs came to defend interests across Europe through their dynastic ties to the Habsburgs (not to mention their new global empire), the number of triumphal arches and expenses associated with royal entries increased substantially, especially during moments of (relative) political instability.

³⁹⁸ For but a few examples: "[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron librar a Garçia d'Ocaña ocho reales de quatro dias que estuvo en ir e venir a Toledo a buscar brocado para el palio del resçibimiento," 14 January 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 5-6; "[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron librar Anton de la Barrera siete reales que gasto con los señores teniente e Gonçalo de Monçon en la ida por seda e grana para el resçibimiento de los prinçipes, nuestros señores," 28 January 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 9; "[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron librar Antonio Gomez que fue a Toledo, por mandado de la Villa, a hazer traer las lanças para la justa; que lo mando que se enbiasen por ellas el prinçipe, nuestro señor, que ocupo quatro dias ocho reales para el e para la bestia que llevo," 4 May 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 35.

sporadic.³⁹⁹ Most of these payments were made in connection with food and other provisions (variously called *provisiones*, *bastimientos*, or *mantenimientos*).⁴⁰⁰ Sometimes a given city paid for some desserts and other delicacies that were almost certainly destined for the royal family and highly-placed courtiers. For the 1502 reception into Madrid, the city council ordered that, for the second day of Easter, there be made “fifteen plates of pan-cooked fruit of Saint Dominic” and that there be brought “[another twenty five plates] of candied fruit and marzipan and candied citron and *confites* from Toledo.”⁴⁰¹ Unfortunately, we are not told the prices for these delicacies, or even how large the plates or platters were.

What we do know is that, in Castile, payments to the royal agents supplying provisions were hierarchical. In theory, payments to the agents of princes or princesses was 600 *maravedís*, the reception of a queen 800 *maravedís*, and that of king 1200 *maravedís* respectively.⁴⁰² This difference in valuation could possibly indicate a distinction that cities made between relationships they had with a reigning monarch and

³⁹⁹ 5 May 1490, “Carta de pago a los repostadores del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros señores...,” Sección XV (Mayordomado), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla; “Mandaron los dichos señores hazer libramiento en el mayordomo Gonçalo Sánchez de ocho rreales para los aposentadores del príncipe nuestro señor, que vuieron de aver de su derecho por la entrada de su alteza en esta dicha Villa, ques la meytad de lo que han de aver los aposentadores del Rey e de la Reyna nuestros señores, con los quales mandaron acodir a Diego de Jouera, que los ovo de aver en su nonbre de los dichos posentadores,” 9 April 1484. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 319.

⁴⁰⁰ 29 January 1506, Sección Histórica, número 3023, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁰¹ “que se trayan de frutas de açucar e maçapanes e diaçitron e confites de Toledo para otros veynte e çinco platos,” 21 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 26.

⁴⁰² See the historical study of Agustín Gómez Iglesias, former archivist of the Archivo Municipal de la Villa de Madrid: “Estancia de los Reyes Católicos en la Villa,” in *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), xiii-xxvii, especially p. xiv, n. 3. Similarly, for the ceremonial reception of a prince or princess, only half as many people were summoned to attend, and they had to walk only half as far from the city to receive the young monarch. For an example of this, see, “Testimonio sobre la ceremonia que se guardó en la villa de Durango con ocasión de la visita y jura de los privilegios por parte de la reina doña Isabel y su hija,” 19 September 1483. Transcription in *Colección documental del Archivo Municipal de Durango, tomo II*, edited by Concepción Hidalgo de Cisneros Amestoy, et al. Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco (San Sebastián: Eusko-Ikaskuntza, Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1989), doc. 64, 352-356.

those they had with a potential monarch. A lot could happen between a city's oath of fealty to a prince or princess as heir to the throne and his or her actual accession, most notably a death or a *coup d'état*.

Fortunately, monarchs of Castile seem not to have requested the custom *yantar* only frequently, mostly grain being disbursed to “the people who are here with the princes,” which would help explain its large volume.⁴⁰³ Grain was a prominent part of almost every meal, and keeping enough of it at hand to meet the needs of the royal retinue, on top of that of a city's own inhabitants, was no small task. Disbursements of grain could be surprisingly large, such as the *cahiz* (18.96 bushels) of barley presented to the *aposentadores* of the princes for their 1502 reception into Madrid.⁴⁰⁴ At the price of seven *maravedís* per *celemín*, the subsidy would have had a value of 1,008 *maravedís*.⁴⁰⁵

The price of grain was of course linked directly to the size of the most recent harvest. It was also influenced by the cost of transportation, a process that added considerably to the end price simply because grain is bulky and heavy. Per cubic unit, or per weight, grain offered a small profit margin—one of the reasons it was so often handled in bulk. The grains typically disbursed during times of a ceremonial reception were wheat (*trigo*) and barley (*cebada*). Since these grains were intended for members of the royal court, it is probable that they milled into flour and baked into bread—instead of

⁴⁰³ “pan para la gente questa aqui con los príncipes,” 6 April 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 28. I have found few other disbursements of made to the monarchs for their food (*yantar*), and this appears to have been a rather uncommon occurrence: “Este día, mandaron los dichos señores hazer libramiento en el mayordomo Joan Díaz, de seysçientos maravedís al príncipe nuestro señor, de su yantar, por la entrada desta dicha Villa,” 4 November 1482. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 209; “Mandaron librar al limosnero los mill e dozientos maravedis del yantar,” 13 November 1513. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 252.

⁴⁰⁴ “[Margin: Libramiento.] Acordaron de librar a los posentadores Briones e el de los príncipes un cahiz de çevada,” 15 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 24.

⁴⁰⁵ Conversion: Haggard. *Handbook for Translators*, 73.

simply being boiled into porridge, as was often done by the lower classes. It is clear that the cities would have absorbed the cost of transporting this grain, as well as milling it into flour—since milled flour had a higher price than unprocessed wheat—whether it was given to the royal party, or acquired to be sold to it.⁴⁰⁶ That cities often absorbed such costs is implied by the petition made by the city council of Burgos in 1506 to receive “sufficient remedy” (*remedio suficiente*) to recover “what it cost to bring the grain” into town.⁴⁰⁷

Beyond the grains disbursed to the royal family, the cities also had to secure large quantities of grain to support the local population. The quantities of grain and related expenses for these provisions could be quite substantial. For instance, the city council of Madrid purchased 1000 *fanegas* (1,580 bushels) of “good wheat” (*buen trigo*) held by Pedro Zapata in the nearby village of Barajas—a toponym now associated with Madrid’s main airport—for the 1502 reception of Juana and Felipe, at 132 *maravedís* per *fanega*, for a total of 132,000 *maravedís*. One should note that this is roughly twice the amount of 59,600 *maravedís* spent on textiles for the ceremonial canopy.⁴⁰⁸ In addition, Pedro de Parla and Diego Galan were commissioned to provide barley at three separate supply tables, at seven *maravedís* per *celemín* (4.6 liters), although we are not told how much grain was dispensed from these supply tables.⁴⁰⁹

One should note, however, that some expenses for provisions were temporary. It seems that only the highest officials and the royal family itself were provisioned at

⁴⁰⁶ For the implication of a different price between the raw and milled wheat, see, 6 April 1502. *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁰⁷ “fecho todas las diligencias... que por sysa... no se podia cojer lo que costava traer el dicho pan,” 2 April 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3024, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁰⁸ 6 April 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 28.

⁴⁰⁹ 14 March 1502. *Ibid.*, 23-24. Conversion: Haggard, *Handbook for Translators*, 73.

municipal expense (and even this seems to have been rare in the case of Castile), while the bulk of the items were sold to the public and perhaps the lower members of the court.

This is implied by the sort of arrangements made in which, for example, the

corregidor and *regidores*... gave sureties in name of the said city... that if the said thousand *fanegas* of wheat... would not sell in the said city at the price that is assessed at... a hundred and thirty two *maravedís*... they will be in charge of selling it... and they will give and pay him [i.e. Pedro Zapata] the *maravedís*... owed to him, [or the] penalty of double [the price].⁴¹⁰

That is to say, it seems that urban provisioning of grain involved city officials taking a quantity of grain on consignment (as a type of credit), whereupon they were to sell it and pay the money generated by its sales to the grain merchant. Even if such up-front costs were minimal, though, it is important to remember that the city gave surety to the merchant against municipal property (similar to a lien) to sell the grain at certain agreed upon prices. If the city could not recover the assessed (*tasado*) price for the grain, or if the market could not bear this price, then the city stood to lose substantial money.

Additionally, if the city did not fulfill its obligations under the contract, it would owe substantially more, in this case twice the amount.

Other miscellaneous expenses that the city also incurred in the course of preparing for a ceremonial reception and its festivities were truly unpredictable, such as payments made to private citizens in compensation for damages. A somewhat cryptic example can be seen in the payments made by Madrid's city council to Juan de Oviedo (who,

⁴¹⁰ “Este dicho dia los dichos señores corregidor e regidores otorgaron que, por quanto el dicho tesorero, por les hazer plazer y por serviçio desta Villa, hizo la obligaçion de suso contenida al dicho señor Pedro Çapata por lo que monto las dichas mill hanegas de trigo, aquellos en nonbre de la dicha Villa se obligavan e obligaron, que si las dichas mill hanegas de trigo o las que dellas diere el dicho Pedro Çapata no se vendieren en esta dicha Villa, al preçio questa tasado de los dichos çiento e treinta e dos maravedis, quel trigo que asi quedare por vender la dicha Villa lo resçibira e sencargara dello y lo vendera o repartira por pregones; y le daran y pagaran los maravedis que montare el dicho pan que asi le diere, so pena del doblo,” 6 April 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 29.

interestingly, was a minor city official) for certain damages that occurred to his house while storing the grain necessary for the reception of Prince Miguel de la Paz (1498-1500) into the city in 1499. The city council minutes are not very explicit about the incident and mention only “the damage incurred to his house for having stored the grain in it.”⁴¹¹ It is possible that the grain attracted rats or other pests, its weight of the grain damaged the house’s joists or foundation, or its presence disrupted Juan de Oviedo’s household (*casa*) in a more general sense.

Less cryptic is an example involving various payments associated with preparations for the running of bulls, notoriously dangerous and unpredictable animals. The issue of municipal liability was complicated by the fact that cities do not seem to have always purchased the bulls outright, but rather taken them on consignment, effectively, by temporarily commandeering them for the occasion. Payments for damages are illustrative, therefore, because they alert us to a variety of legal precepts and cultural assumptions. For instance, it seems to have been assumed bulls were to be appropriated only temporarily and returned to the owner unharmed. Moreover, it seems that all parties held a cultural vision of a bull’s worth was that multifaceted, seeing the animal not only as an object of entertainment, but also as a provider of leather and meat.⁴¹² This scenario would explain an assessment for the damage of “a bull that Bernaldino de Lara brought from Vicálvaro [a community near Madrid] for the celebrations of the princess’

⁴¹¹ “[Margin: Que paguen a Juan d’Oviedo su trabajo del pan.] Que vean los señores Antonio de Luzon e Gonçalo de Monçon ques lo que mereçe Juan d’Oviedo por el daño que le a venido a su casa por tener el pan en ella e se le libre lo quellos acordaren,” 28 June 1499. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 118.

⁴¹² From what I can tell, the bulls were run through a course multiple times, and seem not to have been killed in a “bull fight” at the end of such an event, as is common practice in modern times.

arrival.”⁴¹³ The bull “was injured by a blow from a lance” and subsequently died from the injury, but the city paid Lara only 500 *maravedís* for the value of the animal’s damaged hide. The rest of the animal’s value, such as its meat, was probably paid to Lara separately and directly by Madrid’s meat vendors, who likely took it on consignment. A bizarre instance of bull-related damages involved the farmyard (*corral*) and garden (*vergel*) of one Pedro de la Madalena. In what was an ill-conceived plan, “the bulls had been enclosed in the mentioned farmyard to try them out, whereupon they destroyed a fig tree and other trees [of his].”⁴¹⁴ Unfortunately, we are not told the extent of the damage or how much money Valladolid paid out in compensation, but the verb tenses of the passage suggest that the city intended to pay for the damages.

Although the preceding economic discussions are detailed, they do not represent trivial minutiae. Rather, they show that the details provided in municipal documentation are critical to our proper understanding of ceremonial receptions. This is because they make it manifest that the important experience—for all but a select few—was not a few short hours of a ceremony. Instead, the very nature of the municipal documentation serves as an important corrective to the bias of royally sponsored sources. The municipal documentation, created for internal consumption, and with a different purpose and

⁴¹³ “[Margin: Libramiento.] Acordaron los dichos señores que porque el año pasado de noventa e siete se trujo un toro de Bernaldino de Lara de Vicalbaro para las alegrías de la venida de la Princesa e el dicho toro se hirio de un bote de lanza e porque alego que se murio de la dicha herida y se acordo que diese informacion dello a Fernando Ruiz e Fernando Garçia e con ellos provo haverse muerto de la herida mandorente vista la informacion librar sobre lo que uvo del cuero mill e quinientos maravedis en la alcance de Juan de Uviedo,” 18 June 1499. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 92.

⁴¹⁴ “[Margin: Para que se pague el dapno que se fizo a Pedro de la Madalena.] Este dicho día fué cometido por los dichas sennores, Corregidor e Regidores, a los dichos Rodrigo de Verdesoto, e Jorge de León para que lo que ellos viesen que se avía fecha de danno a Pedro de la Madalena en su corral e vergel, quando se ençerraron los toros para los provar en el dicho su corral e le quebrantaron una higuera e otros árboles, se lo mandasen pagar e se librase en el mayordomo Françisco de Ribadenebra,” 24 July 1497. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 213.

audience in mind, is the only way to appreciate temporal, economic, ecological, legal, and social ramifications that ceremonial receptions entailed. Beyond these, ramifications, ceremonial receptions also produced an environment conducive to “micro-politics” at the municipal level, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF IBERIAN CEREMONIAL RECEPTIONS

One area of scholarship where municipal agency has been particularly neglected is that of politics. The predominant view, espoused by José Manuel Nieto Soria's influential *Ceremonias de la realeza*, is that ceremonial receptions provided the monarchy an opportunity to enhance its charisma via the public display of "propaganda."⁴¹⁵ Implicit in this model, focused on the performance of (royal) power, is the notion that only monarchs sought to derive political benefits from these events, while the municipal citizenry complacently absorbed the messages of propaganda and footed the bill.⁴¹⁶ It assumes that the predominant dynamic between city and king was one of subjugation and domination, with power and influence flowing unidirectionally from top to bottom. Such events are usually only interpreted from the top-down, royal perspective.

The municipal sources from various kingdoms across Iberia show a different very picture. Instead, they reveal that the dynamic between city and king was bi-directional, usually in flux, and infinitely more complicated and nuanced than models assuming hegemony or royal domination. In additions to the critically important economic functions regulated by the cities, the documentation reveals multiple levels of

⁴¹⁵ Two major exceptions to this are Peter Stabel's essay on, "For Mutual Benefit? Court and City in the Burgundian Low Countries," despite its appearance in a work on *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 101-117, and Miguel Raufast Chico, who has written several articles on royal entries in the Crown of Aragon: "'E vingueren los officis e confraries ab llurs entremeses e ball': Una aproximación al estamento artesanal en la Barcelona bajomedieval, a partir del estudio de las ceremonias de entrada real," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.2 (2006): 651-686; "¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36.1 (2006): 295-333; "¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona," *En la España medieval* 30 (2007): 91-130; "Itineraris processionals a la Barcelona baixmedieval," *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya* 29 (2006): 134-146.

⁴¹⁶ José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1993).

municipally instigated political activities. Several scenarios emerge from these documents generated for internal municipal consumption and shared. They illustrate that citizens had their own agency throughout the process of ceremonial organization. Rather than mindlessly or passively receive their sovereign, it is clear that city-dwellers actively negotiated the relationship between city and king, exerting at least some degree of control. What is more, they approached such occasions with a great deal of political acumen and a sophisticated cost-benefit analysis, mindful of the myriad potential benefit that could be had.

In fact, closer inspection makes it clear that the city preparing for a ceremonial reception was a hotbed of activities that can broadly be described as political. Moreover, a close analysis of municipal decision-making reveals that the cities had engaged in such activities with strong expectations the ceremonial interactions with monarchy would produce a variety of political opportunities—locally and regionally—and perhaps lead to royal largesse and reciprocity. These various forms of political decisions and actions (both micro and macro) have remained obscure at least in part do to the scope of previous analyses. The typical focus on the day of the ceremonial procession itself brings with it several methodological implications, which exclude the urban sphere.⁴¹⁷ Such studies emphasize only the royal perspective and the monarch's use of ceremonies as “propaganda.” The approach begins with the timeframe and protagonist found in the narrative chronicles and printed *memoriales*: they begin with the monarch's imminent

⁴¹⁷ For but a few examples of such day-of-procession analyses, see Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Librairie Droz 1986); Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theater, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Tess Knighton and Carmen Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King,” *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119-163; Rosana de Andrés Díaz, “Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV, según las crónicas de la época,” *En la España medieval* 4 (1984): 46-62; and Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza*.

arrival outside the city gates, follow him or her through the gate and along the streets of the city to the cathedral or palace, and end rather abruptly with the monarch's departure.⁴¹⁸ In contrast, the municipal documentation highlights that the organization of ceremonial receptions took weeks, or even months to prepare, and involved probably several hundred actors tied directly, or indirectly, to the city. The urban landscape, the city's magistrates, and the citizens all had their own existence and traditions quite independent from that of the monarch.

Most relevant to the current study, we must remember that ceremonial receptions occurred within a *pre-existing* framework of urban ceremonies, including,

the receptions of princes, counts, bishops, or foreign ambassadors; multiple and diverse processions, the most important of which was the annual celebration of Corpus [Christi]; and the intense [civic] ceremonies throughout the year marking the activity of [city magistrates], all of which formed a framework wherein... gestures and practices developed that, at the same time that they defined the city institutionally, also acted as powerful and effective stimulators of the collective urban consciousness.

This consciousness is what in Anglophone scholarship would most likely be called civic identity.⁴¹⁹

Long *before* the monarch ever stepped foot into the city, the city saw a host of political activities, many of them concerning who should contribute to extra-ordinary taxes levied to raise funds; who should contribute food, money, and labor and in what

⁴¹⁸ Even an early exponent of the focus on political propaganda, Sydney Anglo, now advocates deemphasizing the political influence of royal entries, since their real-life influence is almost impossible to gauge. See his remarks in the introduction to second edition of his *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997 [first edition 1969]).

⁴¹⁹ "Recibimientos a príncipes, condes, obispos o embajadores extranjeros; recorridos procesionales múltiples y diversos, encabezados por la celebración anual del Corpus; y el intenso ceremonial que marcaba la actividad de los consellers a lo largo de todo el año, configuran un entramado en el cual se desarrollan gestos y prácticas que, al mismo tiempo que definen institucionalmente al municipio, actúan también como potentes y efectivos estimuladores de la conciencia colectiva urbana." Raufast Chico, "¿Un mismo ceremonial?" 101.

amounts; which municipal officers should receive (or not receive) expensive ceremonial garb; and surprisingly, whether the city should even host the monarch.⁴²⁰ These disagreements were all rooted in the power struggles involving the redistribution of resources, which left their most tangible traces in the documentation recording the city's administrative and economic transactions.

Within Iberia, the politics are especially visible in Barcelona and other parts of the Crown of Aragon, where city councils kept a separate archive for "Deliberations." Even in Castile, however, where deliberative and documentary practices seem not to have created such archives, there is evidence that is suggestive. For the 1502 reception of Juana and Felipe into Madrid, it is clear that the city council asked for detailed instructions from King Fernando and Queen Isabel on how to prepare for that ceremony.⁴²¹ However, this seems to be an aberration, perhaps because the city was relatively small at the time, with little resources (or perhaps less experience or long-standing traditions than larger cities like Seville and Burgos). In most circumstances, Castilian cities seem to have modeled the form of their ceremonial receptions not on what monarchs told them, but rather what their rival cities did. Cities frequently sent agents to inquire about another city's ceremonial reception, either to observe it directly, or to learn

⁴²⁰ Contrary to chronicle narratives of royal entries, one should view the city and its traditions and constant, and the royal presence as transient and temporary. Indeed, Ana Isabel Carrasco has recently reversed the direction of propaganda found in royal entries, pointing to what she considers "the city's own propaganda displayed before the king": "propia propaganda de la ciudad emitida ante el rey." Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, "Discurso político y propaganda en la corte de los Reyes Católicos: Resultados de una primera investigación (1474-1482)," *En la España medieval* 25 (2002): 299-379, esp. 311.

⁴²¹ Among the relevant documents, see the royal letters from Granada, 14 October 1501, Sección 2- 311-29, and Seville, 7 January 1502, Sección 2- 311- 30, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid, (both transcribed with a few emendations in *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 7 March 1502, p. 19), and various pages from the city council minutes, from 3 December 1501 (*Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 339) to 9 March 1502 (*Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 21).

about it after the fact.⁴²² Such actions were no doubt undertaken for a variety of reasons, but the desire for political advancement was among the most prominent.

It cannot be denied that the monarchs of Iberia did benefit greatly from their ceremonial receptions into cities, as evident in the scholarship focusing on the high-politics involved. Whether it is called propaganda, charisma, or simply the “political process of image making,” the ceremonies provided various ceremonial means monarchs used to project their power, and such displays were no doubt important.⁴²³ Without modern transportation or communication, royal itinerancy and physical travel to a region was one of the only means monarchs had at their disposal to make their presence felt. Nobles could use their wealth and influence to amass personal armies and regional enclaves of personal power, outside the monarch’s control. Once they were entrenched in one of the several hundred fortresses that dotted the landscape of Castile (a kingdom originally named after the inordinate number of castles it had), removing them was no easy task. It required diplomatic, military, and financial resources which the kings would prefer to spend only as a last resort. Cities, with their heavily fortified walls and city gates, similarly posed potential obstacles to royal power and freedom of movement, in the figurative sense. Royal itinerancy and periodic appearance in key cities was simply good policy, often serving to pit cities and nobles against each other as political circumstances made convenient.

⁴²² The cities of Cervera y Tàrrega sought information from Lérida and Barcelona on how monarchs had been received there: Ramón Miró i Baldrich, “Fasts reials a Tàrrega a finals de l’Edat Mitjana,” *Urtx Revista cultural de l’Urgell* [Tàrrega] 5 (1993): 131-148, esp. 133. Similarly, for the occasion of receiving Fernando I in 1412, the regidores of Tarragona informed themselves of the monarch’s prior reception in Tortosa: Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 96, n. 17.

⁴²³ Knighton and Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon’s Entry,” 119.

Despite these many clear benefits, it is important not to lose sight of the inhabitants hosting the affair. Ceremonial receptions could be held for any number of occasions besides honoring the monarch's first appearance in the region. They could be used to celebrate a royal wedding, the birth of a royal child, as well as acclamation and ascension ceremonies. Whatever the reason, what ties them all together is that they happened in the city—which tells us something. Namely, this highlights that cities were connected to local and regional networks of power, which could be used to secure the smooth succession of an heir or, alternatively, that of a prince or princess making a bid for the throne. The histories of the Iberian kingdoms are filled with examples of actively contested claims settled by a preponderance of acclamations and political endorsements by certain key cities (especially Burgos in Castile, and Barcelona in the Crown of Aragon). The centrality of the urban sphere within high-politics is, therefore, manifest, and something that cannot be accounted for with use of the royal-centric model of “propaganda.”

Nor does the focus on first instance, post-crowning ceremonial receptions make much sense in this context. Many princes and princesses saw ceremonial receptions before (and after) they were elevated as monarchs. From the municipal standpoint, such occasions were opportunities to solidify burgeoning relationships with a monarch in the making. It is probably for this reason that the municipal documentation, at least in Castile, is far more copious for princely receptions than it is for first-instance receptions of elevated monarchs.

Two important examples of this accession through agglomerated municipal endorsement are that of Isabel and Fernando. The ceremonial reception of Princess Isabel

occurring after a war of disputed succession—whose acclamation by multiple cities helped her to solidify her claims and become Queen Isabel I of Castile. The city of Burgos had supported Isabel’s aunt Juana (daughter of King Enrique IV of Castile) as the other—and some would argue the legitimate—candidate to the succession. Isabel had been acclaimed in Segovia, but the road that firmly established her claims throughout the kingdom was a long one.⁴²⁴ Eventually it became clear that she had the lion’s share of public and private support, so Burgos switched its allegiances and held a ceremonial reception for Isabel on January 18, 1476, meant as a conciliatory gesture between her and the city. Following the typical pattern of sovereigns entering this city, Isabel first stopped at the monastery of Las Huelgas, just outside Burgos. She then entered Burgos by night with celebrations involving theatrical performances (*entremeses*), joyous displays (*alegrías*), and songs and proceeded to the Palacio del Sarmental.

Isabel presided over a surrender of the forces from the castle (which was razed in subsequent generations), an act with political significance. In the words of one chronicler, “once the monarchs of Castile possess that fortress, they have the title to the kingdom and can with confidence be called its monarch, since it [i.e. Burgos] is the Head of Castile [*Caput Castellae*].”⁴²⁵ During the war of succession, the keepers of the castle had acted against the citizens of Burgos, leading sorties and attacks on the adjacent city on more than one occasion. Isabel stayed in Burgos until 5 February, performing several acts of reconciliation to reward the loyal elements of the city and generally reinvigorating her

⁴²⁴ For the intricacies of this acclamation and the gender politics involved, see Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, “Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile,” 53, no. 1 *Renaissance Quarterly* (2000): 31-56.

⁴²⁵ “los reyes de Castilla, teniendo aquella Fortaleza tenían título al Reino e se pueden con Buena confianza llamar reyes dél, porque es cabeza de Castilla,” unidentified chronicler quoted in Juan Albarellos, *Efemérides burgalesas. Apuntes históricos*, 2nd ed. (Burgos: Talleres Gráficos “Diario” de Burgos, 1964), 18

relationship with this key city.⁴²⁶ First, she took an oath to the magistrates of Burgos that the monarchy would never again give custody of the castle to any grandee, especially not the dukes of Arévalo or the counts of Plasencia y de Béjar, the fortress's traditional castellans (*alcaídes*).⁴²⁷ Second, she pardoned those elements of the city and castle who had opposed her.⁴²⁸ Third, she awarded the city an honorific title of Very Loyal (*Muy Leal*), and even promised to provide compensation to certain residents of the city whose property had been damaged during the war, specifically ordering the reconstruction of the houses on the *Calle de las Armas*, which had been burnt down (in the end this never took place). Five years later (1481), Isabel would likewise strive to mend relations with Barcelona, the key city in the realm of the Crown of Aragon. She entered the city after certain factions opposing her there had capitulated, and she performed acts of reconciliation with the city similar to those she had performed in Burgos.

These political displays by Queen Isabel occurred at the beginning of her career and fall in line with what scholars have argued about royal entries constituting “the formal inauguration of the relationship between [a] sovereign and [the] people.”⁴²⁹ Thus, “When rare second [royal entry ceremonies] do occur, they often do so under circumstances which emphasize the primary inaugural function of these shows [or] take place in the context of a re-inauguration, a broken feudal contract being reinstated.”⁴³⁰ While this interpretation is semantically true, I would argue that such ceremonies were really moments intended to *create* transition, not just to mark it. Ceremonial receptions

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴²⁹ Kipling, *Enter the King*, 117.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

occurred during moments of turmoil and transition, including not only the succession (or acclamation) of a new monarch, but also the commemoration of princely marriages, royal births, and military victories. Those ceremonies occurring late in a monarch's reign can be explained not only as an attempt to repair disrupted city-monarch relationships—what Kipling describes as a “broken feudal contract being reinstated”—but as active strategies meant to improve one's political standing.

For instance, most ceremonial receptions King Fernando's—the most important in terms of expense and municipal effort put forth to organize them (discussed in previous chapters)—occurred at the end of his lifetime, when he was attempting to expand his political role in Castile beyond the capacity of regent. The situation was complicated, but it bears some exploration due to the light it sheds on the importance of public displays as a means to securing political standing. The story began in 1469 when the young Isabel of Castile had eloped and married her distant cousin, Fernando of Aragon. She was a woman of extraordinary political abilities who managed to negotiate a marriage contract wherein the power dynamic lay in her favor. Administratively and legally, her realm of Castile and Fernando's realms within the composite Crown of Aragon (among other possessions) would remain separate throughout their marriage. That is to say, unlike most princely marriages, there would be no transfer of dominion or authority from the wife to the husband.

Fernando seems to have tolerated his limited authority in Castile throughout Isabel's lifetime, something no doubt facilitated by the fact that the *de jure* limitations of the marriage contract seem not to have been realized in a *de facto* manner on a day-to-day basis. His interactions with his Castilian subjects seem to have been more ambiguous and

in flux. In theory, one of Isabel's future children (to be sired by Fernando, of course) would inherit both realms. The historical realities never cooperated with this plan, however. The royal couple had a series of children, both male and female, but complications—not the least of them was untimely deaths—prevented a smooth succession. As Queen Isabel's life came to a close, her daughter Juana was the heir apparent (*primogénita*), although not everyone in the realm supported the princess' claims. Juana did not have the independent qualities that her mother possessed, a factor that helps to explain why her husband Felipe of Habsburg was given future sovereign rights in Castile equal to hers.

The young Habsburg prince took up residence in Castile and throughout 1502 he and Juana proceeded from one city to the next in a series of ceremonial receptions meant to celebrate their royal marriage—and the promise of heirs and dynastic stability that it brought—as well as to secure their political standing within the kingdom. Things did not go as planned. Felipe quickly managed to alienate himself from most of his new Castilian subjects, who complained bitterly not only of his arrogance and insistence on surrounding himself by “foreign” advisors, but also of his uncanny ability to make them feel like outsiders in their own home. He also had a falling out with his new father-in-law Fernando, one of monumental proportions. The frustrated Felipe returned with Juana to his realms in the Netherlands, and his mother-in-law Isabel of Castile died shortly thereafter in 1504. Upon her death, Fernando was appointed to the regency of Castile in the absence of Juana and Felipe, but he withdrew to the kingdom of Naples, which he conquered and took for himself, receiving a splendid triumphal entry.

While he was in Naples, Fernando somehow was able to reach a détente with Felipe, despite some political maneuverings of the latter to claim the kingdom of Naples for the Habsburgs. A new peace and accord (*paz e concordia*) between them was announced throughout Castile, and Felipe I returned to his kingdom of Castile, where he and Juana were again received by almost every major city during 1505 and 1506.⁴³¹ After one of these lavish receptions in the city of Burgos, Felipe died suddenly, leaving his widow Juana nominally as queen, although supervised closely by Fernando's regency, due to her mental instability.

In what amounted to a power vacuum, Fernando seems to have devised a new political strategy meant to re-define his role within the Castilian political landscape, beyond the constraints he had endured under his marriage contract with Isabel. He returned to Iberia, all the while employing the title "king," and positioned himself to receive the political endorsement of key political figures and cities. He started first in the city of Valencia (1507), on the Mediterranean coast, indisputably part of his realms of the Crown of Aragon. He then proceeded to more contested cities in Castile, including Seville (1508), Valladolid (1509), Burgos (1511), and Valladolid again (1513). He also remarried on 19 October 1505, this time to Germaine de Foix, niece of the king of France, and very quickly sired a son with her to solidify his political standing.

Royally sponsored pamphlets from Fernando's receptions by Valladolid in 1509 and 1513 show the king's evolving political strategy. He used the marriage to a new wife and the birth of a son to gain political leverage. This son, Juan of Aragon, would

⁴³¹ For copies, see the letter sent to Burgos: Salamanca, 26 December 1505, Sección Histórica, número 312, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, or announcement (*pregón*) read aloud in Valladolid: Libros de Actas, 1506, f. 200r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

technically have inherited only the Crown of Aragon, and not Castile. As Knighton and Morte García explain, “with Germaine’s pregnancy, Fernando’s succession in Aragon now appeared to be assured, although the situation in Castile, should an heir be born, was far less clear. Only a few years earlier Felipe had entered the city as King of Castile, and the cause of his heir, Charles, would not be easily forgotten.”⁴³² However, it is clear that Fernando was using extralegal persuasion, public opinion, and the ambiguities of the situation strategically to further his political aims. He and the queen had been in the area for some time, so the ceremonial reception held in Valladolid was really instigated by the birth of the child, and not merely the arrival of the monarchs.

Additionally, one of the songs (*villancicos*) performed at the ceremonial reception made explicit references to the royal child, hinting at his future political importance. It stated, “It is said that the king has come here for his enjoyment; enjoy yourself, Valladolid, taking favour from such a favour; and the imperial *queen is to give birth* here - oh! what tidings! Never will we see the like of this again in our lifetimes” (emphasis my own).⁴³³ The lines clearly hearken to the special relationship that had existed for generations between the monarchy and the city, since Valladolid had historically been a favorite and frequent residence of the queens of Castile and the site of several royal births. Nevertheless, more important is the rhetoric used, which hints at the possibility of the child being the only heir Castile would see, since the phrase “Never will we see the like of this again in our lifetimes” implies a certain finality.

⁴³² Knighton and Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon’s Entry,” 130-131.

⁴³³ “Dizen quel rey y señor/ se viene a holgar aqui./ gozate, Valladoli/ con fauor de tal fauor./ y la reyna imperial/ ha de ser aqui parida;/ ¡o que nueua! en nuestra vida/ no veremos otra tal.” Quoted and translated in Knighton and Morte García, “Fernando of Aragon’s Entry,” 130.

The city hall minutes associated with this 1509 reception mention that the ceremony was not only to honor Fernando, but also the new prince. Although the minutes use a term connotatively equivalent to “prince” (*infante*), and not the term reserved for children formally sworn in as heirs (*primogénitos*), it is also the case that the occasion resembled those celebrating the birth of a new heir. Like the proverbial duck, if the child looked like an heir and was celebrated like an heir, there was a chance that he would one day be acclaimed as such. The plan, if it existed, never came to fruition, however, since the child, Juan de Aragon (born 3 May 1509), died shortly after the celebration.⁴³⁴

King Fernando was a creative and tenacious fellow. Although the child from his second marriage had proven to be short lived, he devised a new political strategy based on claims that were even larger than Castile and the principle of inheritance. The pamphlet from his 1513 entry into Valladolid shows that Fernando’s new claims to supremacy were based on his control of Italy, his conquest of Navarre against the king of France, his relationship to the Pope and his championship of the Church, his “victories” over Judaism and Islam, and especially his claims to large parts of the Iberian Peninsula as “King of the Spains” (*rey de las Españas*). The last turn of phrase was more rhetorical than it was real, but it did point toward Fernando’s intentions: not to be received as the former king-consort of Castile, or even as its regent, but as its full king. Like so many other rulers in history who were, either exiled, or sought refuge outside their realm, Fernando’s time in Naples allowed him to regroup his powerbase. Fortified from the periphery, he felt confident to pursue his interests in Castile, what would presumably have formed the centerpiece of his reformulated realms.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 130, n. 40.

Successfully elevated monarchs were not the only ones to see the potential political fruits to be gathered from ceremonial receptions. City-dwellers, too, sought to cultivate and collect the harvest. One potential political benefit that might come to the mind is that of formal appointments of municipal officials to positions within the royal administration, perhaps elevating one's power and influence beyond the local sphere. However, appointments to royal administrations could be extremely politicized and did not necessarily include municipal or regional participation in the royal project. Mario Damen has studied the analogous administration of the Duke of Burgundy with just this sort of question in mind, and found that regional cooperation was not a reliable predictor of being appointed.

While the cooperation of certain regions was correlated to appointments, other instances were not. Although "Burgundian, Picardian and Brabantine nobles dominated Philip the Good's household... the political integration of the counties of Holland and Zeeland in 1433 was not reflected in the composition of the household of the Burgundian Duke."⁴³⁵ That is to say, when residents of the counties of Holland and Zeeland decided to cooperate with the duke, the new relationship did not bear the fruit of formal appointments to his administration. (For our purposes, it matters not whether these collaborators were municipal or noble, since my point here is merely that formal appointments were not a sure thing.) This is not to say that they were barren, since "the informal contacts created between the political elites of the counties and the top layers of the Burgundian administration were probably of an even greater importance" than formal

⁴³⁵ Mario Damen, "The Nerve Centre of Political Networks? The Burgundian Court and the Integration of Holland and Zeeland into the Burgundian State, 1425–1477," in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 70–84, esp. 70.

appointments.⁴³⁶ With this analogy in mind, it is safest to assume that appointments to royal administration were limited in number; although where they existed, they could no doubt be important enticements and motivations for local officials to cooperate with a ruler. Most political benefits resulting from city-sovereign interactions were probably more subtle and local or regional in scope, resulting from access to the monarch and his or her administrators.⁴³⁷

The municipal scale of such political favors should not lead us to think they were unimportant, since they could have a very immediate impact on one's quality of daily life. Royal policy could affect nearly every aspect of a person's life, so cultivating a harmonious relationship with the monarch was essential. A most interesting example of the utility of having a good relationship with the monarch and an influence on royal policy comes from Madrid, 1502. A decade prior, in 1492, the king and queen of Castile had altered drastically the royal policy regarding the kingdom's Semitic minorities. In that year, Fernando and Isabel conquered the southern kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim foothold on the Iberian Peninsula, and also expelled all Jews unwilling to convert to Christianity.⁴³⁸ Both of these royal actions had immediate consequences penetrating the deepest recesses of both rural and urban society. One of the most closely felt consequences was Castile's rather sudden loss of a great many skilled workers.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁴³⁷ Collectively, the reception of a monarch gave prestige to a city which it could leverage to its advantage. The magistrates of Coimbra, Portugal, stated that the city's preparations (here, specifically those related to the *pálio*) should be as ostentatiously executed as possible, because they "lend honor... to the mentioned lords, but also lend honor to the city": "se devem muito de trabalhar de catarem o mais rico pálio que puderem haver assim pelo que cumpre a serviço dos ditos senhores como pelo que cumpre à honra da cidade." *Livro I da Correea*, 280.

⁴³⁸ For the time being, Muslims were not expelled from the Peninsula, but many of them suspected this would eventually be the monarchy's course of action (which it would be).

In February, 1502, the labor shortage had become so dire in the area of Madrid that the city instituted a policy of immigration incentives meant to attract “Moors [willing] to convert and come live in this city [i.e. Madrid], either from its region or from afar.”⁴³⁹ Much like the situation of the 1990s some 500 years later, Madrid’s labor shortage caused it to offer a variety of recruitment incentives. The council minutes tell us that the city offered what we today could call “start-up packages,” including clothing and loans, exemptions from forced contributions or billeting (“except when the [royal] court is here”), and miscellaneous privileges regarding the “house of marriages, the meat market, and the ossuary which they have [marked] with... stones.” Perhaps the most important enticement was offering “the Moors... who want to convert to our Sacred Catholic Faith... a ten-year exemption from all taxes... enjoying [a status] similar to gentrymen and [other] exemptees of this city.” What is more, the city agreed to serve as advocate for these new Christian converts, helping them seek an exemption guaranteeing

⁴³⁹ “[Margin: Esención de moros.] Acordaron los dichos señores que porque los moros que biven en esta Villa se quieren convertir a nuestra Santa Fe Catolica y piden esención por diez años de todos pechos; y porque esto es servicio de Nuestro Señor e de sus Altezas e honra desta Villa, porque no se despueble donde avia presonas dellos de ofiçios de albañiles e carpenteros neçesarios al bien de esta Villa; y les otorgavan e otorgaron la dicha esención por de aqui a diez años e que sean esentos de todos pechos e gozen como los hijosdalgo e esentos de esta Villa.

Otrosi, que en lo que toca a lo que piden que por diez años no entre la Inquisiçion sobrello en esta Villa, que en esto suplicaran a sus Altezas e a los inquisidores que lo otorguen de la manera que se otorgo Aviles y Huete y que lo procuraran y negoçiaran a su costa, e que lo traيران despachado lo mas presto que pudieren.

Otrosi, que en lo que toca a la ropa e huespedes que se les otorga que no los tengan, salvo estando aqui la Corte por los dichos diez años.

Otrosi, en lo que piden que les den la casa de las bodas e la carneçeria e el osario que tienen con sus piedras, que haran y trabajaran y procuraran con sus Altezas todo lo que pudieren... lo qual todo se les otorga e se mando pregonar.

Esto mismo se otorga a todos los moros que se convirtieren e se vinieren a bevir a esta Villa, asi de la tierra como de fuera parte.

[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron los dichos señores librar a nuestra Santa Fe Catolica mill maravedis que se convirtieron.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 14.

“that the Inquisition not enter this city to investigate the matter [of said conversion] for ten years... as was granted to [the cities] of Avilés and Huete.”

The city government of Madrid was attempting to influence royal policy and stave off the scrutiny of the royal inquisition, which could always find objectionable practices in new converts if it looked closely enough. Such advocacy would have been a powerful incentive for new Christian converts to reside in the area of Madrid, providing a measure of protection, but it also served the Christian populace. As the minutes explain, the city was seeking to attract to the region people of Moorish extraction because it was “in the best interests of Our Lord [God], Their Highnesses, and the honor of the city, since they will prevent depopulation... and have among them construction workers and carpenters necessary to the wellbeing of the city.”

A very real opportunity to influence policy and decision-making (whether municipal, regional, or royal) was that of voting. The political and personal stakes could be quite large, so voting a jealously guarded privilege. The struggles over voting rights that could be sparked by a ceremonial reception can be seen in an example involving the attempts of one Pero Niño to circumvent normal municipal channels to seek direct royal intervention in order to secure this privilege in Valladolid. The occasion occurred in conjunction with the preparations for the 1502 reception of Princess Juana and Prince Felipe into the city. It seems that the city’s *corregidor* (a position including the powers of both the top municipal magistrate and a royal representative) tried to bar Niño from having any input in the decision-making of the ceremony.⁴⁴⁰ Niño wrote to Fernando and

⁴⁴⁰ The *corregidor*, or “co-town councilor,” was a royal official in residence, who was appointed by the monarch to sit on the city-council and serve as advocate for royal policy. The position was a difficult one serving two masters, as the inaugural oaths swearing to uphold both royal and municipal interests indicate.

Isabel to seek intervention, which arrived in the form of a royal letter (*cedula*) addressed to the *corregidor* himself. It stated, “Doctor de Villaescusa, our *corregidor* in the city of Valladolid. We command you to receive the vote and opinions of Pero Niño, our *merino*, on the matters necessary to prepare that city for the reception of the illustrious princes, our very dear and beloved children.” That is to say, Fernando and Isabel were intervening on behalf of Niño, ordering the *corregidor* and presumably the municipal council that stood behind him, to allow Niño to vote and help decide the actions the city would take to prepare for the ceremony. That Pero Niño had gone behind the municipal council’s back was almost certainly irksome to Villaescusa, and probably to the council at large. Few people can sustain such a direct challenge to their authority without having their pride hurt on some level. But it would seem that the right to vote and present his view was for Niño valuable enough to warrant his probable estrangement from the city council.

Of course, the right to vote was no small matter. Among other things, it decided how resources were distributed. Such issues could frequently lead to quarrels. One such disagreement can be seen with regard to the expense of 4,000 *maravedís* for two bulls to run in celebration of the reception of Juana and Felipe into Madrid. One Antonio de Luxón objected to these expenditures vociferously enough for his objections to have been recorded in the city hall minutes for 22 June 1502. As the scribe recorded, “he [i.e. Luxón] stated that it was his opinion that the bulls should not be run and that instead the monies should be used on other necessities of the *comendador* and scribes.” Thus, Antonio de Luxón presented an argument for prioritizing resources and apportioning them with practical concerns in mind.

The other officials, in contrast, thought the occasion warranted a splurge of sorts, especially since the funds had been donated and “earmarked” for the occasion. They also argued that the city at large would derive a communal benefit, enjoyment, and celebration, which was worth the expenditure. The rest of the magistrates—the *regidores*, *teniente*, *procurador*, and *seismero*—argued that “these *maravedís* were provided by [certain private citizens]... for the [purchase of] these bulls, and since they will belong to all the inhabitants of the city and everyone will derive pleasure from them... let them be bought... [especially] since the city will not be putting up any of its own monies.”⁴⁴¹

Perhaps the most prominent and heated examples of municipal infighting involved the politicized allocation of ceremonial uniforms. Securing the privilege of wearing ceremonial uniforms frequently involved considerable political maneuverings. In one such instance, Alonso de Virués objected to the use of municipal funds (*propios*) to pay for the ceremonial uniforms of the *corregidor* and top magistrates, “insisting that they not spend a penny of the city’s coffers until they received explicit written permission to do so from Their Highnesses, which he insisted upon reviewing for himself.”⁴⁴²

Curiously, when the day of the ceremony arrived, this same Alonso de Virués “was not given a ceremonial uniform [because] he was in Perpignan in the service of Their

⁴⁴¹ “Acordose por los dichos señores e procurador e seismero que los quatro mill maravedis que dan los obligados para dos toros, allende de los propios, que se conpren e trayan los dichos toros e que la Villa no pague cosa alguna, demas de lo que asi den los dichos obligados. El dicho Antonio de Luzon dixo que no es su voto que se corran, salvo que se tomen estos dineros para otras neçesidades del comendador e escrivanos del Real, que se an de dar agora dineros. Los dichos señores teniente e regidores otros e procurador e seismero dixeron que estos maravedis son que los obligados dan, allende de los propios para estos toros, e pues son de todos los vezinos de la Villa e todos han de gozar dellos para su plazer, que gozen dellos e que se conpren de los dichos maravedis, pues la Villa no pone de sus propios ninguna cosa.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 44.

⁴⁴² “eçebto Alonso de Virues, el qual dijo que requería al dicho Corregidor e Regidores que no gastasen cosa alguna de los propios de la villa, fasta tanto que por carta de sus Altezas les sea mandado; e que asy lo requería e pedía por testimonio.” Fernando Pino Rebolledo, ed. and transcriptions, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497* (Valladolid: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valladolid, 1990), 80.

Highnesses.”⁴⁴³ Whether this course of action was what the somewhat cantankerous magistrate had wanted—he would have needed to wear something in the presence of the monarchs, after all—or whether this was retaliation for his previous protestations is hard to tell.

What is clear is that the issuance of uniforms was at the heart of municipal finance and resource management, and the city hall minutes are filled with evidence of this. Who had the right to receive the uniforms varied according to the custom and ordinances of each city, although two provisions are common in every case: the restriction of luxurious uniforms to a privileged few, and the cost of materials and the number of items of apparel varying according to rank. Most often, those officials at the top of the political hierarchy could count on receiving their textile and uniform perquisites, along with the wealth and prestige they symbolized. The monarch’s *corregidor* and the top civic rulers (*regidores*) were virtually assured the receipt of textiles, while other, more minor officials often seem to have exerted special efforts to receive them.

Beyond their price tag, these uniforms had immense social and political value.⁴⁴⁴ The value of objects, that is to say material culture, can change within cultural systems. An instance of such changes was explained by Juana Green regarding how handkerchiefs were in the seventeenth century converted into love tokens, objects that lovers invest with

⁴⁴³ “Lo qual se mandó librar al sennor corregidor a cada uno de los regidores que estovieron presentes en la villa a las honrras que en esta villa se fiçieron, e a Alonso de Virues, porque no se le dió ropa del resçebimiento e estava en serviçio de Sus Altezas en Perpinnan,” 23 April 1498. Pino Rebolledo, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1498*, 80.

⁴⁴⁴ In addition to the monetary value of the textiles, often, the sheer difficulty of acquiring such textiles was what added to their social value. Thus, many of the most valuable textiles in the heart of Castile were precisely those of foreign origins from Flanders, England, and Italy. As fashion changed and a particular fabric became vogue, its social value could lead to an increase in a fabric’s monetary value.

special meaning.⁴⁴⁵ Thus, what had once simply been commodities (in the market economy) came to take on a cultural meaning, which itself then affected the market value. Similarly, municipal uniforms were imbued with special meaning and were thus extra-ordinarily costly. Many magistrates considered these textiles one of the primary “perquisites... of their office” (*preeminencias por rason del dicho su ofiçio*). This was reinforced by the fact that city officials were often simply given cloth and allowed to have their own uniforms tailored—which would suggest viewing the cloth in terms of its monetary value, with the temptation to sell it or trade it.⁴⁴⁶

There were dozens of different types of luxurious textiles, and royal and municipal legislation dictated what sorts could be used by whom and for what purposes. These sumptuary laws sought to create a monopoly of prestige, excluding the average person from using the finest textiles. The monarchs of Castile issued their sumptuary edicts only periodically, but hearkened to these laws often.⁴⁴⁷ Municipal decisions to

⁴⁴⁵ Juana Green, “The Sempster’s Wares: Merchandising and Marrying in the Fair Maid of the Exchange (1607),” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2000): 1084-1118.

⁴⁴⁶ Here, it is King Fernando and Queen Isabel who are speaking, but doing so in the voice of Pero Niño, their *merino*, who petitioned the monarchs to intervene and defend the privileges of his office.

⁴⁴⁷ Over time, such legislation became broader and broader and excluded more and more people. Looking at the early history of sumptuary legislation in Castile, Teófilo Ruiz notes royal edicts issued in 1252 and 1258, and again in 1338 and 1348. The latter two instances “did not restrict the expenses of a specific social group; rather their purpose was to keep the *pecheros* [tax payers] and other citizens below *caballero* rank from imitating the members of the urban oligarchy.” Teófilo Ruiz, “The Transformation of the Castilian Municipalities: The Case of Burgos 1248-1350,” *Past and Present* 77 (1977): 3-32, esp. 19. There are also sumptuary regulations by King Enrique III (1395) on knights, mules, and ostentation, transcribed in Biblioteca Nacional, Manuscrito 9551, f. 188r onward.

By the fifteenth century, the monarchs of Castile actually came to restrict this same urban oligarchy. For but two instances of this expansion, King Fernando and Queen Isabel specified to the city council of Madrid and Valladolid that for royal entries “the outfits [of the]... *regidores*... cannot be made of silk”: “Y las ropas que esa villa suele dar a los regidores, pues no pueden ser de seda.” Seville, 7 January 1502, Sección 2- 311- 30, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid, transcription in *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 19; almost identical wording is to be found in the royal letter copied into the city council minutes of Valladolid (Seville, 7 January 1502), transcribed in Filemón Arribas Arranz, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos relacionados con Valladolid* (Valladolid: Imprenta Sever-Cuesta, 1953), doc. XIV, 56. Furthermore, María Martínez notes that King Fernando and Queen Isabel’s “repeated sumptuary legislation” (*la reiterativa legislación suntuaria*) was bolstered and complemented by a series

enforce these edicts were in themselves a political act, as was the act of excluding certain persons from receiving the uniforms. For the 1502 reception of Prince Felipe and Princess Juana into Madrid, for example, the city gave uniforms to the deputy mayor (*teniente*), the scribe Antón Dávila, the majordomo/superintendent (*mayordomo*), and to two university graduates, *bachiller* Mançio and *bachiller* de la Torre.⁴⁴⁸ Sometimes, as in this instance, municipal scribes received uniforms, since they served as official legal witnesses to the occasions, similar to the function of modern notaries public. Tradition had limited effect, however, and if the higher officials chose to exert their power over the minor officials, they usually prevailed. Often, these power struggles turned into heated legal battles that ended only with direct royal intervention, with the monarch finding in favor of one party or another, probably in accordance with the monarch's own political motivations.

The monarchs of Castile intervened when the city council of Valladolid in 1502, for a reason that the sources do not tell us, refused to provide Pero Niño (the same royal *merino* involved in the dispute over voting rights mentioned above) with a ceremonial outfit. In response to Niño's petition, King Fernando and Queen Isabel ordered Villaescusa to give him "an outfit like the ones given to the *regidores* for the royal entry." Additionally, the monarchs seem to have wanted to protect Niño from similar disputes in the future, ordering that he was to be shown the documentary proof of his

of contemporary anti-luxury treatises by ecclesiastics and moralists, many of them with personal ties to the monarchs. See María Martínez, "La creación de una moda propia en la España de los Reyes Católicos," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 19 (2006): 343-380, esp. 349.

⁴⁴⁸ 16 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 24-25.

privilege, which he had heard existed in the city council's strongbox, and that he was to be given a copy of the document.⁴⁴⁹

In an even more extreme case, one person successfully secured royal intervention in his favor when he no longer held his office. In 1497, the city council of Burgos tried to bar a certain Sancho de Rojas from receiving a ceremonial outfit, because he was no longer in his post as *merino mayor*. Rojas sent a petition wherein he argued that, although he was technically suspended from his office, he still had the obligation of appearing at the princess's ceremonial reception in a semi-official capacity, and would therefore "receive great injury and harm" (*rreçibiría muy grande agravio e daño*) if he were not issued the same outfits as the other officials.⁴⁵⁰ The monarchs agreed with him and ordered the city council to comply with their verdict.

Other examples show that the disbursement of these uniforms linked the municipal and the royal political worlds, micro-politics and macro-politics. In particular, this interconnectedness can be seen over the course of several pages of city hall minutes dealing with the 1497 reception of Princess Margarita into the city of Valladolid. The exact politics seen here between the major and minor officials of the city are not always clear-cut, since the scribe may have omitted some of the details of the controversy, but

⁴⁴⁹ "Doctor de Villaescusa, nuestro corregidor de la villa de Valladolid. Nos vos mandamos que en las cosas que se ovieren de hordenar en esa villa para el resçebimiento de los ylustrisimos Prinçipes nuestros muy caros e muy amados hijos, resçibays el voto e pareçer de Pero Niño, nuestro merino, e le deys una ropa como las que dierdes a los regidores d'esa dicha villa para el dicho reçebimiento e por quanto nos fiso relación que en el arca del Conçejo d'esa villa diz que está un previllegio de cómo le han de ser guardadas ciertas preeminencias por rason del dicho su ofiçio, supliconos le mandasemos dar un treslado del dicho previllegio para lo presentar ante nos.

Por ende nos vos mandamos que si la dicha escriptura le perteneçe de derecho ge la deys e fagays dar para que nos la mandemos ver e proveer en ello como sea justiçia e non fagades ende al." This royal letter from Seville, 16 January 1502, was inserted in Valladolid's city council minutes for 31 January 1502. It is transcribed in Arribas Arranz, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos*, doc. XV, 57-58.

⁴⁵⁰ Royal letter dated 15 March 1497. Sección Histórica, número 307, Archivo Municipal de Burgos,

the interactions recorded must have been intense, since they occurred over the course of several months.⁴⁵¹ As described, an entourage of city magistrates exited Valladolid to receive King Fernando and Queen Isabel (who were travelling ahead of the princess). After greeting and kissing the hands of the royal couple, the *corregidor* immediately “supplcated the queen, our lady, in the presences of the aforementioned [city magistrates] and a great many other people... to order that ceremonial outfits be given to the [minor] city officials for the ceremonial reception of the lady princess.”⁴⁵² The gender component here is interesting, because the *corregidor* specifically addressed the queen, and not the king-consort who was also present, even though city officials most often negotiated details of a ceremonial reception with the Fernando.⁴⁵³ However, what makes the scene so illustrative is the clear intentionality and rhetorical ploys used by the *corregidor*.

First, he did this immediately upon greeting the queen, so it would have caught her off guard. Second, he presented the request very publicly, so she would have felt a certain social pressure to respond favorably, which she would not have felt had the matter been broached in private. Third, and this is the most brilliant twist, he argued that she

⁴⁵¹ Later minutes list the identities of these officials as “los escrivanos del conçejo, que son Gómez Garçía de Córdoba e Fernando de Monrroy, e a los mayordomos del conçejo, que son Rodrigo de Portillo e Françisco de Ribadeneyra, e a Françisco de León, chançiller, e al bachiller Gonçalo e al bachiller de Agreda, alcaldes hordinarios en la dicha villa por el corregidor.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 101.

⁴⁵² “E después de aver besado las manos a los dichos sennores, rey e reyna, el dicho corregidor suplicó a la reyna, nuestra sennora, en presençia de todos los sobredichos e de otra mucha gente, que presente estava, que a Su Alteza pluguiese mandar dar a los ofiçiales del Regimiento, que heran los escrivanos del conçejo e mayordomos e chançiller e a los alcaldes, ropas para el resçebimiento de la sennora princesa.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 96.

⁴⁵³ That most subjects preferred to act through males can be seen when queen Catalina of Castile, as tutor to Juan II her son, was to have all her letters signed by Juan II’s care-takers, Juan de Velasco and Diego Lopez Destúñiga. Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, yr. 1416, ch. X, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II, 372.

should order that Valladolid's city officials be given ceremonial outfits because the custom,

had a venerable tradition, as it appears in the council's ancient books... and since Her Highness had previously sworn to uphold the laws and traditions [of the city], and these were the privileges of their office... which they held in perpetuity at the pleasure of Her Highness... she would [surely] not wish to break [her previous commitment].⁴⁵⁴

The most benign interpretations of the *corregidor*'s intent would be, either that the moment had been prepared beforehand and the queen was aware of it, or, if not, that the *corregidor* was simply stating what was customary to the region and refreshing the queen's memory of her previous support. A more cynical interpretation would be that he had carefully planned the speech and the social context in which it was to be delivered so that the queen would have little choice but to agree, which in fact she did. I lean toward this latter interpretation, since the meticulous account of the conversation and the setting, written after the fact, would suggest that the details of the city's success were important, and thus probably planned.⁴⁵⁵ The royal good will was not infinite, however. The same arguments a year later did not persuade the monarchs to award similar disbursements for funerary uniforms (*xergas e lutos*), a decision that the city council appealed with a petition.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ "Y pues aquello tenía costunbre loable, e asy paresçe por los libros antiguos del dicho conçejo, que suplicavan a Su Alteza les mandase dar las dichas ropas, pues tenía jurado de guardar los buenos usos e costumbres, e aquellas heran las preminençias de sus ofiçios, que les tenía fecha merçed, los quales tenían perpetuos por merced de Su Alteza, e que en sus gloriosos tienpos no le pluguiese de se lo quebrantar." *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 96.

⁴⁵⁵ In my view, this episode shows the degree to which city-dwellers exercised their political agency, using royal entries a time when their negotiating power was at its peak. Also, see the discussion below about the possible souring of relations between Valladolid and the monarchy.

⁴⁵⁶ "E revocaron la librança que de antes tenía fecha, por quanto después de la primera librança vino carta patente de los del Consejo de Sus Altezas, para que non se pagasen las dichas xergas e lutos; de la qual por parte desta villa fué suplicado e dada petición sobre ello a Sus Altezas," 23 April 1498. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1498*, 79-80.

The motivations of the *corregidor*'s actions in this episode are not very clear. At first glance, it may seem that he was serving as advocate for the minor officials, but certain details complicate this notion. First, the minutes suggest that the discussion and vote to award uniforms to minor officials occurred during a separate, earlier decision to give uniforms to the top magistrates automatically.⁴⁵⁷ Second, the uniforms of the minor officials were to be released to them only if they met certain conditions. As the minutes specify, they were to “give surety... that if the city did not pay for them [i.e. the uniforms]... they would pay for them out of their own monies.” Moreover, “because the assistants to the *corregidor* [were] not from the city, in addition to giving surety, they [were] to provide bondsmen for the aforementioned.”⁴⁵⁸ The exceptional conditions that the minor officials had to accept in order to receive the uniforms could perhaps be an indication of a certain reluctance on the part of the major officials, since there is nothing to suggest that the major officials had to meet the same conditions.

⁴⁵⁷ The minutes for 15 March 1497 state “It was decided on this day... that the uniforms to be given to... the *corregidor* and *regidores*... should be made of blue-green velvet. Or if they cannot be made of a greenish hue, then may they be of blue velvet.”: “Este dicho día fué acordado por los dichos señores, que se oviesen de fazer las ropas que se an de dar a los dichos señores, Corregidor e Regidores, para el resçebimiento de la prinçesa, nuestra sennora, de terçiopelo aseytuní azul. E sy no se podiere aver tanto azeytuní, que sean de terçiopelo azul.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 80. However, on 3 May 1497, they instead decided to go with black and crimson, quite an about-face. “[Margin: Sobre las ropas.] Este dicho día fué asentado asy mismo por los dichos señores que las ropas del resçebimiento fuesen ropas negras rozagantes... E que las puertas que han de llevar ante los pechos sean de raso carmesí e los aforros de las bueltas de los onbros de raso e las mangas asy mesmo de raso, con que en la ropa de terçiopelo negro roçagante e en la puerta de raso carmesí e en los otros aforros aya de entrar los diez e seys mill maravedís que cada regidor an de dar o se da que hicha la dicha quantya.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 92-93.

The minutes of 21 April 1497 tell us that the *regidores* in attendance for the day's sessions were “el Conde de Ribadeo e don Pedro Pimentel e Pero Ninno e Juan López de Calatayud e Rodrigo de Verdesoto e Alonso de Montemayor e Pedro de Tovar e Jorge de León, regidores de la dicha villa.” *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴⁵⁸ “los sobredichos se obliguen que, sy a la villa no fuesen resçebidas en cuenta, las oviesen de pagar de sus haziendas e que los alcaldes del corregidor, porque no son de la villa, demás de se obligar, den fiadores para lo susodicho.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 90. Such discussions were not necessarily made in a hostile environment since indeed, two of the witnesses present were Gómez de Córdoba, senior Scribe of the council, and Salinas, servant of the *corregidor*, almost certainly two of the minor officials being affected.

Third, the second meeting in question was oddly convoked at the inn (*posada*) of the *corregidor*, and not the city council's usual meeting place of the *casas del ayuntamiento*.⁴⁵⁹ This is not conclusive of antagonism, but it represents an irregularity in the normal order of business and perhaps suggests that the top officials were concluding this round of business in a forum more private than usual to avoid judgment or confrontations. Fourth, the minutes from the second session state that the uniforms of the minor officials were to be given "according to how it was done of old, as appears in the Books of the Council."⁴⁶⁰ The mention of the Books of the Council could suggest that, while the *Corregidor* and top city magistrates (*regidores*), or at least some of them, were to receive the outfits outright, the minor officials had to rely on the precedent and written record to press their claims—perhaps even having to consult the municipal archive themselves in order to provide irrefutable proof that they had a right to the uniforms.⁴⁶¹

None of this is to say conclusively that there was hostility or animosity between major and minor officials, but it makes the *corregidor's* motives appear to be less than altruistic (perhaps merely to save the city money). In fact, the status differential between the two cadres of officials was even expressed mathematically. The minutes of 20 May state that the minor officials were to be given a uniform allowance of "6,480 *maravedís* each for the uniforms they received for the reception of the lady princess, which is two-fifths of the 16,200 *maravedís* given to the mentioned *corregidor* and each of the

⁴⁵⁹ "Este dicho día se ayuntaron a Regimiento en la Posada del sennor corregidor." Ibid., 90.

⁴⁶⁰ "fué acordado e mandado por todos los dichos sennores, Corregidor e Regidores, nemine discrepante, que oviesen de dar ropas para el rescibimiento de la sennora prinçesa a los escrivanos del conçejo e mayordomos e chançiller e a los alcaldes del corregidor, segund que antiguamente se les dava, segund paresçe por los Libros del Conçejo." Ibid., 90.

⁴⁶¹ The instance from this same city mentioned above, when Pero Niño asked for a copy of a document in the municipal archive suggests closed access and patterns of systematic monopoly of information. Similarly, certain magistrates of Toledo created a "secret archive" (*archivo secreto*), which came to be held under lock and key.

regidores.”⁴⁶² That we can even find such an explicit formula—one for assessing prestige, privilege, and ultimately, power—is a telling sign that such concerns were very important.

Keeping this in mind helps to explain why we find dozens of legal battles between those who had the power to disburse the cloth and those who were passed over for some reason or other. Those on top not only had more resources—time, financial and political “capital,” and so on—and came from the most influential families, but they also had the largest stakes in the outcome. Ceremonial receptions provided urban oligarchs an important opportunity for public display and self-advancement. The hierarchy of textile allocation reinforced the socio-political hierarchy. Alternatively, stated in a different way, the privilege surrounding the issuance of uniforms was used literally to help materialized the fabric of the social hierarchy.

Nevertheless, uniforms were not the only means of self-advancement among the elites, and a particularly heated exchange involving family honor and the prestige of service occurred only a few months after the 1497 ceremonial reception of the princess into Valladolid. The council received a sealed letter (*carta patente*) asking the city to send legally empowered agents (*procuradores*) to a session of the Cortes in Toledo to swear allegiance to Margarita, queen of Portugal, as heir apparent to the kingdoms of Castile, León, and Granada on 14 April 1498. A few days after receiving the news, a certain Rodrigo de Verdesoto, one of Valladolid’s *regidores*, appeared before the council and presented a case in both oral and written form that he “was of the House of the

⁴⁶² “a cada uno seys mill e quatroçientos e ochenta maravedís para las ropas del resçebimiento de la sennora prinçesa que sacaron, que son dos quintos de diez e seys mill e duçientos maravedís, que dieron al dicho corregidor e a cada uno de los dichos regidores.” *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 101.

Mudarros and [of] Don Fernando Sánchez, of the Tovar line, [to whom] the office of *procuración de Cortes*” belonged by right.⁴⁶³ Verdesoto argued, therefore, that he be legally empowered and made one of the municipal representatives sent to the assembly to swear on behalf of the city.

Not to be outdone, Alonso de Virués and Alvaro Daça, also *regidores* of Valladolid, appeared before the same city council stating that they too were of the same house and that they opposed Verdesoto’s presumption, since they had all the same claims to the office. Moreover, they demanded “a copy of the documents that... Verdesoto had presented in order to respond to them.”⁴⁶⁴ Such legal battles show us that disputes about the costs of ceremonial garb and public display were intimately tied to larger issues of access to the sovereign, honor, and familial legacy. While the city council minutes appear not to have recorded what the final resolution to the case was, it is clear that the high magistrates of a city had the will and the resources to press their claims and did so regularly.

City-dwellers also sought to gain a multitude of benefits within the legal sphere. Especially important was the all-important royal confirmation of the city charter and privileges. Such an act was no mere formality, since cities, their inhabitants, and the resources of the region they used (both natural and cultivated), existed in a context of interests hostile to their own. Nobles, clergymen, castellans, and even other cities with contiguous territories, all sought to encroach on the city and to remove—or rather,

⁴⁶³ “de la Casa de los Mudarros e don Fernand Sánchez, del linaje de Tovar, avía cabido el ofiçio de procuración de Cortes,” 23 March 1498. Pino Rebolledo, *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1499*, 66.

⁴⁶⁴ “treslado de las escripturas que el dicho Verdesoto avía presentado e que ellos responderían a ellas,” 23 March 1498. *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1498*, 66.

redistribute and appropriate—its resources and incomes. At any one given time, most cities had at least one major legal dispute over territory and the use of resources underway, some of which lasted for generations.

It is for this reason that upon the arrival of the monarch, urbanites moved immediately to secure a royal oath to uphold the “liberties, [legal] traditions and customs... privileges, exemptions, ordinances, and legal status” of the community.⁴⁶⁵ The point at which this occurred in relation to the city’s own oath of loyalty is an issue that is somewhat contested, but it seems that, in Castile at least, certain cities secured this oath from the monarch before delivering their own oath of loyalty.⁴⁶⁶ For instance, on September 9, 1483, Juan Ruyz de Berrys, royal scribe and public notary, “on the command of the queen... and at instigation of the... city councilmen, citizens, and magistrates of the city” of Tavira de Durango wrote down a meticulous account of the ceremonial reception of Queen Isabel of Castile and her daughter into this rather small town (*villa*) in the northern Basque country, near the Bay of Biscay.⁴⁶⁷ As Ruyz recounts, the municipal delegates exited the community and intercepted the two monarchs, delivered a welcome speech, and then immediately moved to secure a confirmation of the town’s historic privileges, evoking the authority of precedent and the royal legacy.

⁴⁶⁵ “libertades e vsos e costumbres... prribilejos e franquesas... e horrdenanças e posturas de la dicha villa.” “Testimonio sobre la ceremonia que se guardó en la villa de Durango con ocasión de la visita y jura de los privilegios por parte de la reina doña Isabel y su hija,” eds. and transcriptions, Concepción Hidalgo de Cisneros Amestoy, et al., *Colección documental del Archivo Municipal de Durango*, tomo II. Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco. (San Sebastián: Eusko-Ikaskuntza, Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1989), doc. 64, 352-356, esp. 354.

⁴⁶⁶ It could very well be that the order of the oaths varied by the custom of the particular city or community, or it is possible that the order changed with the particular political circumstances and the city’s relative leverage *vis-à-vis* the monarch. In either case, although the order probably had some significance in principle, in practical terms we must remember that cities sent delegations of representatives to meetings of the Cortes and to ceremonies of royal installation, so the on-site confirmation of privileges was in most cases a *re*-confirmation.

⁴⁶⁷ “por mandado de la dicha sennora reyna e a pydymiento de los dichos alcaldes e fyeles e regydores de la dicha vylla.” “Testimonio sobre la ceremonia,” 355.

After the initial welcome speech, they apparently asked the queen to give a preliminary confirmation the town's privileges "in the manner that the kings and lords of old did [when] they ruled this county and locality and [its] urban communities."⁴⁶⁸ After asking Queen Isabel to emulate her royal ancestors "of glorious memory," the magistrates then "brought her an open book of missals, where the words of the Holy Scripture were written, [along with] a cross," on which she was to swear.⁴⁶⁹ After this act, clearly meant to instill a sense of divine retribution if the monarch ever reneged on her oath, they kissed her hand, took hold of her animal's reins, and guided her and the princess to the bridge guarding the gate into town. Here, the magistrates stopped the procession and the music accompanying it, and secured a final confirmation of their legal privileges before turning over the ceremonial keys to the city, and permitting the monarch to enter.

The order of the actions and where they occurred in relation to the city gates highlights the forethought and agency of the townsmen, for it is clear that their continued allegiance to the monarch was conditional upon the monarch's prior good-faith confirmation of all legal privileges the town had acquired to that point.⁴⁷⁰ Indeed, as Miguel Raufast Chico articulated so clearly, any analysis of royal entries must begin with one fundamental reality in mind: the city's power to close its gates and refuse entry to a

⁴⁶⁸ "jurar como lo juraron los reyes e sennores antepasados que sennoriaron este condado e esta merindad e villas." Ibid., 354.

⁴⁶⁹ "truxieronle vn libro misal avierto, do estan escriptas las palabras del santo evangelio e vna cruss... antepasados de gloriosa memoria." Ibid., 354.

⁴⁷⁰ For the classic discussion of how much negotiating leverage cities of Eastern Iberia had in relation to the monarch, see, Ralph E. Giesey, *If Not, Not: The Oath of the Aragonese and the Legendary Laws of Sobrarbe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968). Obedience to king was not immediate, and there was negotiation. Similarly, the city hall minutes of Burgos show that the city pledged obedience to king Enrique IV only with condition that he allow the city to regularly hold a "free market" (*mercado franco*) to be celebrated in the are of the Mercado Menor. Libro de Actas 1465, f. 73, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

monarch.⁴⁷¹ In addition, there are several instances to be found (both in municipal documents and in chronicles) where royal persons were turned away because they were seen as hostile to the town or city's interests. Of course, the reluctance of citizens to admit a member of the royal family hostile to their interests was warranted. In addition to outright military take-over, there were several dangers inherent in letting in foreigners. For instance, royal lodging rights (*albergue*) could be disastrous for a municipality, such as when the Infante Sancho, brother of King Enrique II, quartered himself and his troops in the neighborhood of San Esteban (Burgos), while amassing troops against the Duke of Lancaster—who was defending his wife's claims through her father King Pedro “el Cruel.” The neighborhood became overly congested, and on 19 February 1374, a scandalous skirmish erupted in the city between the allied troops of the Infante Sancho (bastard brother of Enrique de Trastámara) and those of Pedro González de Mendoza, who were amassing in Burgos to advance the claims of Enrique de Trastámara over King Pedro.⁴⁷²

In essence, and in practice, once a city opened its gates to a party—royal or not—it lost its military and political advantage. Particularly unnerving and insulting were the instances of a political “Trojan horse,” when a noble showed up unexpectedly. Once inside, the intruders could attempt to extract an oath of fealty and press the citizens to alienate the city itself, or territories and revenues traditionally under its jurisdiction. A previous chapter discussed in detail one such hostile take-over, involving some

⁴⁷¹ Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 94.

⁴⁷² Albarellos, *Efemérides Burgalesas*, 57. For the intricacies of the Mendoza family—first supporting King Pedro and then supporting the pretender Enrique de Trastámara—see Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350-1550* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979), especially Chapter 2, “The Mendoza Rise to Power,” 36-52.

territories of Valladolid appropriated by the Admiral of Castile and the Viscount Don Juan de Vivero in 1482 and 1483.⁴⁷³ This, however, was not the only instance that such an event occurred.

The city-council minutes of Madrid for 5 February 1487 read, “on this day Don Pedro de Castilla appeared before the... [city] council, proceeding then to read a letter from... the king and queen, our lords. The letter contained two things: one, that the city accept the mentioned Don Pedro as its lord, and the other, that the city give its consent to the ... sale of the fortress of El Pardo [under Madrid’s jurisdiction], which Their Highnesses made to him.”⁴⁷⁴ The circumstances and date of this appearance of Pedro de Castilla, some four years after the Valladolid episode, seem similar, although the response of Madrid’s councilmen could hardly have differed more.⁴⁷⁵

Whereas in Valladolid the magistrates had accepted the Admiral of Castile’s dominion both verbally and with the gesture of the hand kiss, Madrid’s magistrates refused to do anything of the sort until the matter could be resolved with a direct royal proclamation. Using the classic trope that the error lay not with the king or queen, the magistrates informed Pedro de Castilla that they could not comply, “because Their Highnesses, when they signed the mentioned letter, were not informed of the privileges

⁴⁷³ “se sopo e sonó.” “El sentimiento que fizo Valladolid quando se dieron Simancas e Cabeçon,” transcribed in María del Rosario Falcó y Osorio, *Documentos escogidos del archivo de la Casa de Alba, publicados por la Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela* (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Tello, 1891), 12-16, esp. 12.

⁴⁷⁴ “Este dia pareçio en el dicho Conçejo ante los dichos señores el señor don Pedro de Castilla e presento a leer una çedula de los dichos Rey e Reina nuestros señores... la dicha çedula se contenian dos cosas, la una que la dicha Villa se obligase al dicho señor don Pedro... y la otra que la dicha Villa diese consentimiento en la dicha venta que sus Altezas avian fecho de la dicha fortaleza del Pardo al dicho señor don Pedro.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 43.

⁴⁷⁵ Part of Valladolid’s protest had been to publicize its maltreatment to other cities of the area, so it is almost for certain that Madrid had been informed of what transpired, perhaps even developing a contingency plan.

of this city, which it holds from past kings of glorious memory, their heirs, and the lord King Don Juan [II of Castile]—may God rest his soul.”⁴⁷⁶ Of course, Fernando, Isabel, and their advisers were most likely well versed in Madrid’s historic privileges, but found it convenient to proceed toward the sale anyway. If the citizens of Madrid capitulated, as the citizens of Valladolid had initially done, then the monarchs stood to make a sale and have a noble in their pockets who would owe them a favor. If the citizens did not accept the arrangement, then they could always pretend ignorance and rescind the order.

Whatever the assumptions of the monarchs, Madrid’s magistrates did not budge. They remained firm that “neither the city nor any of its jurisdictions can be alienated for any cause or reason whatsoever, something that was confirmed by Their Highnesses [themselves] at [a session] of the Cortes... by the petition of the city’s kingdom-wide representatives, something which they intend to diligently point out to Their Highnesses so they can act according to what suits their needs and the good of the city.”⁴⁷⁷

Statements such as these were rhetorically savvy, but they point the importance of municipal expectations, as well.

Beyond mere confirmation, though, municipals sought and expected royal protection for their privileges—legal, economic, military, and otherwise—against external, third parties. After all, confirmation of a privilege was only as good as a monarch’s willingness or ability to enforce it. On the occasion of the ceremonial

⁴⁷⁶ “[Los presentes] dixeron, que por quanto sus Altezas al tiempo que firmaron la dicha carta non fueron informados de los privilejos questa dicha Villa tiene de los Reyes de gloriosa memoria antepasados, sus progenitores, e del señor rey don Juan que santa gloria aya.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 43.

⁴⁷⁷ “para que la dicha Villa nin termino alguno della non pueda ser enajenada por ninguna causa nin razon que sea, la qual ansimismo esta por sus Altezas confirmado por Cortes a petiçion de los procuradores del reino, lo qual todo entienden llevar muy prestamente a mostrar a sus Altezas para que sobre vean lo que mas cumple a su serviçio e al bien desta Villa.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 44.

reception into Durango mentioned above, part of the monarch's oath was "not to allow [anyone] to go against the mentioned ordinances... or impede them" in any way.⁴⁷⁸

About a hundred and forty years before this, when King Alfonso XI passed through the same region, the townsmen of Bermeo, upon receiving him, asked him to "guard them from his people [i.e. courtiers or noblemen] committing harm to the [town's] vineyards, grain fields, and apple orchards."⁴⁷⁹

Such legal favors clearly had important economic implications for town dwellers, linking the economic fates of town and crown in complex ways. Older scholarship used to focus on the role of the cities in subsidizing the expensive travel of an itinerant monarchy. In theory, the monarchs could count on receiving from the cities substantial monetary "gifts" (*donativos*), financial loans, troops and other military materiel, as well as food, drink, and lodging for them and the royal retinue, which would serve to defray the heavy cost of royal travel.⁴⁸⁰ In practice, such provisions seem to have been highly variable, according to the circumstances of local custom, an outbreak of plague, a poor harvest, or any number of other factors that might limit a community's ability to share its resources. Thus, while monarchs were technically entitled to such privileges, they seem to have called for them only sparingly. To judge from the virtually complete set of city hall minutes that have survived for Madrid for the period from 1480-1600 (with some

⁴⁷⁸ "non consentiria yr nin pasar contra las dichas horrdenanças en esta dicha." "Testimonio sobre la ceremonia," 354.

⁴⁷⁹ "Et dende fue á Bermeo, et los de la villa acogieronlo, et pedieronle merced, que les guardase que las sus gentes non les feciesen mal en los parrales, nin en los panes nin en los manzanales." *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*, ch. CXXXIV, ed. Coyetano Rosell. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 66, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. I (Madrid: M. Rivadenera, 1875), 262.

⁴⁸⁰ I argued in Chapter 3, *The Iberian Context: Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon*, although gifts from the city to the monarch were typical in the Crown of Aragon, they were not so in Castile.

sporadic fragments as early as 1464), the monarchs of Castile requested a food allowance (*yantar*) from the town only twice.⁴⁸¹

Admittedly, the interactions between cities and sovereigns frequently involved coercive means and sanctions to force acquisition of certain provisions, but royal decision to do so was perhaps not completely arbitrary. It occurred in the context of weighing the potential cost to the community, and ultimately the effect that such a request would have on their relationship with the community. Items for long-term use could be permanently confiscated, or, more often, acquired through forced sales.⁴⁸² Forcibly acquired items tended to be those that were bulky and viewed as essential, such as foodstuffs. Without grain (or wine), for example, a city as well as the royal court would starve. Thus, it is exactly for these materials that one sees the most contentious stance on the part of officials, both royal and municipal. The conviction and steadfastness seen in the documentation shows concerns for public welfare (over that of the individual supplier), and there is frequently rhetoric very similar to modern discussions of eminent domain.

The royal requests for provisioning carried a tone of intimidation that left little option for the cities, but to comply. For example, after sending Burgos (and most other cities in the realm) an initial notification that he had concluded peace and perpetual union with his daughter Juana and son-in-law Felipe (the duke of Burgundy, among several titles), King Fernando the Catholic sent a second letter stating, “as you know, the serene

⁴⁸¹ A similar type request is seen in the minutes announcing, “[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron librar al limosnero de sus Altezas mill e dozientos maravedis para la comida que la Villa es obligada por la venida de sus Altezas.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 338.

⁴⁸² Frequently requisitioned items from average, private citizens included: space in their homes for lodging and quartering, bed clothes, and edible fowl. See an example of exemptions that could be granted, “[Margin: Exención de huéspedes de las casas de Juan de Prado.] Presento Juan de Caçeres una çedula del Rey nuestro señor, por la qual manda que non aposenten en sus casas de su muger de Juan del Prado huéspedes ni saquen ropa ni aves ni otra cosa alguna, no estando en esta Villa sus Altezas ni el prinçipe ni infantes.” 13 November 1497. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 320-321.

monarchs and princes, my very dear and very beloved children, left Flanders of the eighth of this [month]... and they are to come through the city, [so] it is advisable that it be provided with all the provisions ... necessary for their arrival.”⁴⁸³ With this simple statement, Fernando informed Burgos that Juana and Felipe I would be passing through the city, and that the citizens had the responsibility for provisioning the royal court while it was there. The understatement that “it is advisable” (*conviene*) belies a subtext of a threat, since not to comply would have been ill advisable. Not knowing the exact penalty for noncompliance was perhaps even more fearsome than knowing it, although the magistrates of Burgos probably did not even consider that option. It is also interesting that this statement of subtle intimidation was followed by one that was much more straightforward: “Therefore I command you to take much care in acquiring all that you see fit for that city to be well provisioned with all necessary sustenance for the said arrival.”⁴⁸⁴

While such interactions between town and crown were clearly coercive, some measures do seem to contain a certain concern for fairness. An intriguing example can be seen in the stipulations of a *repartimiento* regarding the prince’s chicken keeper (*gallinero del príncipe*), who in 1486 presented a letter to the city council of Madrid ordering that the chickens of the area be “given to him at the prices contained [in the letter]” and to nominate a municipal agent to “travel with him to take possession of the

⁴⁸³ “como sabeys los serenissimos reyes é principes mis muy caros é muy amados hijos partyeron de flandes alos ocho del presente [mes]... y han de venir por la çibdad y conviene que est[é] proveyda de todos los bastymientos que fueren neçisarios para su venida,” 29 January 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3023, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁸⁴ “Por ende yo vos mando que tengayes mucho cuydado de proveer todo lo que vieredes que convenga para que esa çibdad esté bien proveyda de todos los mantenimientos que fueren menester para la dicha su venida,” 29 January 1506. Sección Histórica, número 3023, Archivo Municipal de Burgos. It was typical of royal commands to carry both incentives and threats, mild statements and harsh statements.

afore-mentioned birds.”⁴⁸⁵ The man named for the task was Çavallos, gatekeeper of the city. With legal instructions (*mandamientos*) in hand, he was to take the royal chicken keeper from place to place, make contact with the town-council of every community, and receive a local escort (*alcalde*) who would deal with local chicken owners. In this particular case, households with social status were exempted, including “the houses of knights and squires... women and clerics of the Church.”⁴⁸⁶

Similarly, in 1503, Pedro de San Pedro, was given as his local escort one Juan de Madrid, linen worker—who presumably knew who owned what in the area—as he sought to execute his duties as royal chicken keeper. The pair traveled the area with a royal letter in hand empowering them to “take possession of all the chickens and capons that would be necessary” to feed the royal court, ordering all those persons approached to “obey and comply” with the order.⁴⁸⁷ Still, the orders contained a provision that the chickens were only “to be removed from households owning four chickens or more... because it is in the best interests of Their Highnesses to allow [the households] with less than four [birds] to continue to raise them... rather than see this city or its residents experience hardship on account of the [royal] presence.”

⁴⁸⁵ “[Margin: Gallinero del Príncipe.] E despues desto, en la dicha villa de Madrid... entraron en la iglesia de Sant Salvador de la dicha Villa. Pareçio ende el gallinero del Príncipe nuestro señor e presento una carta de los Reyes nuestros señores, por la qual en efecto contiene que le den aves a los preçios en ella contenidos e que nonbreis personas que anden con él para el tomar de las dichas aves,” 1 March 1486. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. II (1486-1492), 12.

⁴⁸⁶ “guardando las casas de los cavalleros e escuderos de la villa e tierra e dueñas e clerigos de misa.” Ibid., 12. The term *dueñas* could conceivably refer to widows or other female “owners.”

⁴⁸⁷ “[Margin: Gallinero.] Notifícase una carta de sus Altezas por Pedro de Sanpedro, gallinero, e pidio que la obedezcan, e cunplan, e en cunpliendola que le dexen e consientan tener las gallinas e capones que uviere menester. Los dichos señores obedezieronla, e questan prestos de la cunplir, e en cunpliendola nonbraron para que ande en el dicho gallinero a Juan de Madrid, linero, e que tomen las susodichas gallinas en las casas donde uviere de quatro gallinas arriba, aunque si no tienen mas de quatro no le tomen ninguna, porque sus Altezas avran por bien e seran servidos, que no teniendo mas de quatro le queden para criar, por el tienpo que es agora, e a que sirvan a sus Altezas, mayormente, questa Villa e los vezinos della estan menguados dellas con la estada aqui de sus Altezas,” 13 March 1503. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 90-91.

In the age largely removed from its food sources, it is probably hard to conceive of chickens and capons as politically important. But as a resource, their regulation was political, and the stakes of their distribution could be great, especially for the poorest members of the population. All the more political were the allocation and alienation of resources that were scarce, dwindling, or that would create imminent harm if removed irresponsibly. When Felipe I and his court arrived in Burgos in 1506, it was clear that the royal party would need firewood (*leña*). The king was informed, however, that several areas surrounding Burgos “have few woodlands.”⁴⁸⁸ Thus, “if firewood were to be cut from them for the provision of my court, great harm and detriment would come to the mentioned city and its terrain and region, because in the mentioned woodlands they keep their livestock and farm plots.”⁴⁸⁹

In order to protect these resources, Felipe issued orders that in no uncertain terms forbade cutting or scavenging for firewood in about thirty communities with sensitive environments and limited wood resources. He commanded, “That none, neither any person nor persons, of any estate, or condition, [or] dignity ... dare to send for firewood to be cut nor scavenged from the woodlands of the mentioned places.”⁴⁹⁰ The strong statement was aimed at all classes—probably to ensure that nobles and high ecclesiastics not think themselves above his edict—warning that no one should “dare” (*no sean osados*) to go against his word. Anyone found violating the edict was to have any beasts

⁴⁸⁸ “tienen pocos montes,” 16 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 4119, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁸⁹ “si dellos se oviese de cortar leña para provisyon de mi corte vernía muchos daño é perjuicio ala dicha cibdad é su tierra é comarca porque en los dichos montes tienen sus ganados é granjerias,” 16 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 4119, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁹⁰ “que ninguna ni alguna persona ni personas de qualquier estado o condiçion dinidad que sean, no sean osados enbiar a cortar ni sanir leña de los montes de los dichos lugares,” 16 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 4119, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

of burden used in the crime confiscated, as well as to receive the extremely harsh sentence of “a hundred lashes and... thirty days in jail,” as well as the stiff fine of “ten thousand *maravedís*.”⁴⁹¹

From this perspective, part of royal policy was to intervene in order to prevent ecological mismanagement and potential devastation. Taken in conjunction with frequent surveys of the local availability of provisions, orders for cities to keep their ceremonial costs down, oversight of municipal expenses, and willingness to subsidize particularly burdensome expenses (mentioned in previous chapters), such policies seem aimed not at royal aggrandizement, but rather represent a nuanced, almost paternalistic policy of resource management. In some ways, this makes sense, since the monarchs would likely have been the only entities with enough information to make kingdom-wide policy. Rita Costa Gomes, in recent study of the itinerancy of Iberian monarchs, has shown that royals saw themselves as stewards of their realm. In her words, “they acknowledged no internal frontiers” and routinely regulated the use of natural resources, often removing their access or use from traditional jurisdictions over them held by magnates or cities.⁴⁹² Of course, the ties between ecology and economy were far closer then than they are today, when most things are manufactured overseas with the materials and people behind them remaining anonymous, out of sight, and out of mind.

Contrary to the modern disjunction between ecology and economy, monarchs of late medieval Iberia had an actual connection to the resources they commanded. As they traveled from place to place, they saw the sheep, wheat fields, cattle, rivers, quarries, and

⁴⁹¹ “cient açotes é... treynta dias en la carçel... diez mill maravedís,” 16 September 1506. Sección Histórica, número 4119, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁴⁹² Rita Costa Gomes, essay delivered at the International Medieval History Colloquium, University of Minnesota, April 2008.

any number of other environmental resources, as well as the people who tied these resources to the greater economy. It is within this very important context that we must interpret the royal stewardship seen in the interactions between monarchs and urbanites that preceded a ceremonial reception. All this, contrary to the many scholarly studies that stress the “propaganda” and political symbolism of royal entries, suggests that royal priorities regarding ceremonial entries were not only about monarchic aggrandizement, but rather were much more complex.

There is no doubt that there was a strong element of coercion, such as forced attendance attendance (and sales, and appropriations, and any number of other situations). The great number of summonses that litter municipal records show that the people of higher social rank were most insistently called upon. Their personal and material prestige was thought to be transferred by association to the royal or municipal party. Such important persons included nobles, clergymen, castellans, and various other royal and municipal functionaries within a reasonable distance. In one instance, the city magistrates of Madrid, in addition to sending “a messenger on foot to require the squires who live in the vicinity [of Madrid] to come to the ceremony,” they also sent a summons all the way to the city of Toledo to require “Don Pedro Laso to come to the reception ceremony.”⁴⁹³ Further down the social scale, private citizens and guild member were mobilized from within the city, while rural residents were drawn from the adjacent countryside. Poorer sorts could be called on to provide labor, sanitation services, and entertainment.

⁴⁹³ “[Margin: Carta.] Otorgaron carta para don Pedro Laso a Toledo para que venga al rescibimiento, pues es venido alli. [Margin: Peon.] Quel mayordomo enbie un peon a requerir los escuderos que biven en los lugares que vengan al rescibimiento,” 26 February 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 16.

A common element of a ceremonial reception was an extramural greeting of the monarch by city-dwellers. The urban populace typically left the city's walls to participate in activities, such as a joust or mock battle, or the initial reception of a monarch. For Ruiz, these were "celebrations of the mighty," which "bound country to city." He argues that "these rites of inclusion helped urban centers, dominated by local oligarchs, to assert their hegemony over the surrounding countryside" and suggests that such festivals occurred in three stages.⁴⁹⁴ Being that they were scripted and produced by elites, they began with an initial phase of "exclusion" during which only the elites were permitted to participate in an event. This often occurred within the confines of a church or palace. Then there was a second phase of "inclusion" where the participation in the ceremony was widened to include a popular audience. There followed a third phase of "exclusion" where attention was focused once again onto the elites and their actions. The activities of the populace followed the will of the elite. Royal festivals bound "most people into a common experience, and ... provid[ed] an outlet for the miseries of everyday life," all while serving both to "obfuscate *and* buttress class differences."⁴⁹⁵ It would be hard to deny that the summonses were not hegemonic or imbued with class conflict, since on a certain level, they did represent a temporary deprivation of liberty, and non-compliance usually carried with it a penalty of 1,000 or 2,000 *maravedís*. However, it is important to remember that the monarchs were not the only ones to use coercive means. Municipal agents worked in tandem with royal agents, and cities engaged in the same summoning activities and penalties for civic ceremonies, such as the celebrations of patron saints'

⁴⁹⁴ Teófilo Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (New York: Longman, 2001), 128.

⁴⁹⁵ Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 127-128.

days and Corpus Christi. All this is to say that the flow of coercion and power was not unidirectional or uncomplicated.

Furthermore, there were other reasons and considerations for why citizens would congregate outside the city walls, other than simply a desire to “hegemonize” the countryside.⁴⁹⁶ Cities were cramped, so there were issues of practicality involved, such as considerations of space for certain events. Perhaps more important, there were also jurisdictional and security considerations. For example, monarchs were constantly escorted by the highest officials of any given jurisdiction, and they requested this. There are several examples of royal requests for safe conduct and escort (*conducho*) as they traveled. Thus, when they reached the line of demarcation between one jurisdiction and another, they were passed off from one set of officials to the next.⁴⁹⁷ Ruiz describes an instance of such jurisdictional transfer, noting that as Felipe II approached the city of Zaragoza for a ceremonial reception (1585), “the border was signaled by stone landmarks (*mojones*),” and “upon arriving at the border between Castile and Aragon, the king was received by the *Justicia* of Aragon.”⁴⁹⁸

Security risks posed a real threat to royal retinues, not only from political enemies but also from bandits. Just as modern political figures are in danger of harm and assassination during public appearances, so too were royal persons of the late medieval period. For instance, when one Zayde Alemin became frustrated with his negotiations with the Infante Fernando (lived 1380-1416, uncle of the future king Juan II and soon to be known as Fernando de Antequera), he hatched a plot to have him harmed. He called in

⁴⁹⁶ The usually occurred some distance outside the city walls (typically a league away).

⁴⁹⁷ Rosana de Andrés Díaz, “Las entradas reales,” 48. This was undoubtedly tied to the monarch’s right to hospitality and lodging (*albergue*).

⁴⁹⁸ Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*, 145-146.

a favor to find four henchmen, promising to pay each of them 2,000 gold *doblas*. After securing the services of four Moors with ties to the households of two prominent Castilian noblemen, Juan de Velasco and count Fadrique, he asked them “to help him set fire to the royal camp of the Infante.”⁴⁹⁹ Similarly, the young child who was to become King Juan II of Castile was threatened with severe bodily harm several times during his youth. Thus, at least one reason why the meetings between townsmen and monarchs tended to be outside the city limits was that the jurisdictional limits of cities extended beyond their walls.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that a small number of disproportionately well-represented interests usually determined a city’s collective actions. The urban elite embarked on such a course of action when their cost-benefit analysis seemed to promise a net gain, while the populaces of both the city and hinterland were left to pay the sales taxes and various other extra-ordinary measures to finance the ceremonial reception. As Peter Stabel points out, “cities were very aware” that economics and politics went hand in hand and sought to cultivate one with the other.⁵⁰⁰ On one hand, it is true that, collectively, citizens had to pay enormous sums in order to host a ceremonial reception. On the other hand, it was particular individuals stood to profit most from the event, especially those closest to the decision-making process. For instance, on 24 January 1502, Madrid’s city council sent a most curious petition to “Their Highnesses” (presumably Isabel and Fernando) “so that they might order the salaries of

⁴⁹⁹ “le ayudasen á poner fuego en el Real del Infante.” Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, ch. XXIII, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II, 325.

⁵⁰⁰ Peter Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit? Court and City in the Burgundian Low Countries,” in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 101-117, esp. 116.

the [municipal] magistrates to be raised, because [currently] they receive no more than 1000 *maravedís* [a year], while of late [city] revenues have increased substantially, both in *maravedís* and in grain.”⁵⁰¹ This was an attempt to reverse the salary caps instituted by the Catholic Monarchs, and, while we are not told the exact quantities the councilors were seeking, they were probably the same ones stipulated in a petition at a session of the Cortes about twenty years earlier, asking for a salary raise from 1000 *maravedís* to 3000 or 5000 *maravedís*, depending on the office.⁵⁰² It is unlikely a coincidence that this request came in the middle of the negotiations for how to arrange the ceremonial reception of Princess Juana (that is, between October 14, 1501, when the council received notice of her impending arrival, and March 29, 1502, when she actually entered the city).⁵⁰³ Rather, it seems that the councilors calculated the most propitious moment to cash in on the political capital they had earned in the process of making the arrangements for the ceremonial reception.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ “[Margin: Petición.] Otorgaron los dichos señores petición para sus Altezas para que manden acrecentar los salarios de los regidores, porque tienen mill maravedís no más e agora los propios han crecido en mucha más suma de maravedís e pan que antes,” 24 January 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 8.

⁵⁰² “Las cosas que los procuradores de Cortes de la Villa de Madrid suplican a V. A. [i.e. Vuestras Altezas] son las siguientes: ...Otrosy, que antiguamente el mayordomo de la dicha Villa tenía de salario cinco mill maravedís e dos cahizes de trigo e que de cinco o seys años acá fué mandado que no le diesen más de mill e quinientos maravedís, a causa de lo qual apenas se puede hallar quien quiera tomar cargo de la dicha mayordomía porque es muy trabajoso el cobrar los maravedís e pan de los propios, por ser muy menudas las rentas en que están e se pierde en ello mucho más de lo que se aventajó a La dicha Villa en mandar que no llevase el dicho mayordomo más de los dichos mill e quinientos maravedís. Suplican a V. A. mande boluer el salario al dicho mayordomo, segund antiguamente lo solia llevar, pues agora están más acrecentados los propios e tyene mayor trabajo en la cobrança.

Otrosy, los rregidores solían tener de salario tres mill maravedís cada vno e de poco tiempo acá no lleuan más de mill maravedís porque los propios eran muy pequeños e que agora se han acrecentado, asy en pan como en dineros, y tienen agora más trabajo con muchos pleytos e negoçios que en el ayuntamiento de la dicha Villa cada día ocurren. Suplican a V. A. les mande rrestituir el salario que antiguamente solían e acostunbrauan llevar los otros rregidores que antes dello fueron,” early 1480s. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 442.

⁵⁰³ Granada, 14 October 1501, Sección 2- 311- 29, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid.

⁵⁰⁴ For date of the event itself, see the minutes dated 30 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 26.

Other economic benefits could serve private contractors. The preparations for a ceremonial reception entailed numerous contracts for materials and labor associated with the decoration of the city, entertainment, and especially the ceremonial outfits and canopy associated with the event. Studying analogous viceregal entries in New Spain during the early seventeenth century and the “avenues of personal power and influence” created by them, Steven Flinchbaugh has even argued that the “contracts for materials, food, drink, and livestock” should be considered “a source of patronage.”⁵⁰⁵ In a previous chapter, I showed how these lucrative contracts (especially those for luxury textiles) reinforced existing commercial networks, being given first to local merchants (some of them with connections to the city council), and only later distributed more widely if local suppliers could not be found.⁵⁰⁶

In this instance involving the public auction of hydraulic engineer, Master Yuza, to cover certain quantities of money from a contract he had breached, the issues of power underlying the contracts between vendors and city governments are obvious. However, transactions of all sorts and sizes involved issues of power, even if they were less obvious. The resources spent on a ceremonial reception— involving large-scale use of public or common funds—were substantial. Every step along the way was a negotiation between competing interests, each seeking to allocate resources in conformity with its own convenience. Whenever interests collided, the city (or the monarchy) gave preference to one while suppressing another. The documents show that at every step

⁵⁰⁵ Steven Flinchbaugh, “Economic Aspects of the Viceregal Entrance in Mexico City,” *The Americas* 52.3 (1996): 345-365, esp. 356-357.

⁵⁰⁶ To resort to merchants from without was rare, especially in the large cities where most materials were available. Smaller cities like Madrid, however, did have to look elsewhere, especially for luxury goods, which were not commonly sold in the area.

differing interests competed with each other, entangling decision-making with issues of power, politics, influence, and persuasion.

Many times, such situations were set in motion by a royal order, which municipal machinery then used as an instrument of power. To return to the 1502 example from Madrid, the city held a running of the bulls after Prince Felipe commanded it to do so. To retrieve the bulls from the countryside, the city forcibly, if temporarily, appropriated a horse from Francisco de Cuenca, mason, which it gave to Alonso de Toledo to round up the bulls.⁵⁰⁷ Apparently, Alonso de Toledo, *mayordomo* of the city, had absolutely no experience herding cattle, let alone fierce bulls, and returned the horse with severe injuries. On 4 May 1502, Francisco de Cuenca lodged a complaint with the city, suggesting that Alonso de Toledo had been negligent, and that “between running [the horse] excessively after the bulls, and working it too hard, the horse was severely lamed and died as a result of it.”⁵⁰⁸ Two days later, on 6 May, several witnesses appeared before the city council to testify as to what had happened and what the horse had cost Cuenca. The witnesses included Francisco de Paredes, Francisco de la Torre, Juan del Campo, Pedro de Guadalupe (blacksmith), and the alleged culprit, Alonso de Toledo.

In his testimony, Alonso de Toledo denied liability, arguing that that he was only following the orders of *regidor* Gonzalo de Monzón. Moreover, he argued, he had not run the horse, but instead had “made sure to walk it”—although he did acknowledge that he had slept two nights in the countryside without unsaddling the animal. This less-than-ideal treatment had admittedly caused something of a wound (*matadura e levantadura*),

⁵⁰⁷ For details of this fiasco, see 18 May 1502, *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 37-38.

⁵⁰⁸ “con el correr mucho que corrio tras los toros e con el trabajo demasiado que le dio, el cavallo se a lobado todo y en fin murio dello.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 37.

but he insisted that he had sought treatment for the animal immediately upon returning to the city, and that the horse had recovered.⁵⁰⁹ Pedro de Guadalupe, veterinarian (*albéitar*), testified that Alonso de Toledo had indeed called him to treat the horse, which had “a large wound in its side” that he bled and placed a dressing on. He claimed that the animal’s wound had “healed well,” but that when he went back to check on the animal a few days later, the wound had worsened, so bad in fact, that he “did not return” thereafter to treat the animal.⁵¹⁰ The other witnesses stated that they had been present at Francisco de Cuenca’s original purchase of the horse, which he had bought saddled and with reins for 2,700 *maravedís*. After what must have been half-a-day of very heated discussion, the city called on García, saddler, as an expert witness, who testified that the saddle and reins would have been worth 200 *maravedís*. As the culmination of a complicated and painful process that had been set in motion by a royal command weeks before, the council of Madrid found in Francisco de Cuenca’s favor in the amount of 2,500 *maravedís*.

Other intersections of power and municipal decision-making centered on the construction of the *palio*, which can be seen particularly clearly at the level of procurement. The contracts for the expensive materials used for the *palio* were frequently awarded to people with varying degrees of connections to the city council. For instance, in 1502 the city council of Madrid sought to buy its brocade for the *palio* from Doña María, wife of a minor city official, *bachiller* Juan Arías. Although in the end the council decided against this action, purchasing higher quality brocade from someone else, the

⁵⁰⁹ *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 37.

⁵¹⁰ “El dicho Pedro de Guadalupe, albeitar, jurado dixo que Alonso de Toledo llamo un sabado en la noche, puede aver diez dias, para que sangrase el dicho cavallo e que le sangro e tenia una grande levantadura en el costado e que le echo un enplasto e quedo bien curado e que otro dia le bolvio a ver este testigo e estava muy mas alterada la levantadura e que, como le vido tan malo, no le bolvio a ver e le dixeron que se avie muerto.” *Ibid.*, 37.

important point is that it had started its search close to home.⁵¹¹ For the 1488 reception of Prince Juan into Seville, the city council rented outfits for twelve regidores from a certain Andrea de Odon, “Genoese merchant of this city,” for a cost of 16,533 *maravedís*.⁵¹² For the 1506 reception into Burgos, the council awarded the lucrative contract for the brocade for the *palio* (some 96,600 *maravedís*) to “Juan de Miranda and Bernaldino de Miranda, local city merchants.”⁵¹³ While for the latter two examples, a prosopography would be necessary to establish direct, personal connections between the merchants and the city councils in question, the Miranda clan was well known and rich merchants in Burgos (their palace still stands), and what is significant is that the distribution of contracts clearly reinforced local networks of power and commerce. City councils started with the networks closest to them and worked outward only when necessary. Whenever possible, they chose local city merchants over those with no ties to the city.

The connection between power and the *palio* can also be seen on other fronts. The *palio* consisted of several parts. At its simplest, this canopy was a piece of cloth with some poles to support it. In more sumptuous forms, however, the number of components, as well as their relative costs, rose significantly. The cloth canopy itself usually had an inner and an outer layer. The outer layer was usually of a heavy, rich fabric, such as velvet or brocade. This was usually lined with an inner layer of a thinner, shinier fabric,

⁵¹¹ For doña Maria’s role, see *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 11-12. Such a pattern of patronizing one’s own commercial contacts follows what Stabel has found for Burgundy, “Personal ties between suppliers and court officials and important supply networks were the result. Being a preferential supplier of the court could boost individual fortunes, but it could also facilitate flexible client-consumer relations relating to credit, deliveries and anticipation of marketing conditions.” Stabel, “For Mutual Benefit?,” 102.

⁵¹² The original cost of renting outfits was to be 13,600 *maravedís*, but 3^{2/3} *varas* of material were “missing” upon return, adding 2,933 *maravedís* to the total cost. 7 January 1489, “A Andrea del Odon de çiertas sedas que se tomaron para el Señor príncipe,” Sección XV (Mayordomado), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

⁵¹³ 5 June 1506, Libro de Actas, 1506, f. 197 v, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

such as silk or taffeta. The wooden poles could be intricately carved and covered in gold or silver leaf, either wholly or partially. Then any number of other decorative elements could be added, including a coat of arms (either the municipal or royal) on the outer layer of the canopy, embroidery or beadwork, and hanging elements (such as tassels, fringes, or a valance).

Royal sumptuary laws dictated which of these materials a city could use for its *palio* at any given time. Thus, municipal agency was restricted in a very real way according to the vicissitudes of the royal will. At times, too, the monarchy seems to have exerted power more closely felt. The tone of some royal letters preceding a ceremonial reception is rather stern, not only *requiring* the use of a *palio*, but in one instance, providing extremely intricate instructions for how to construct a complicated double-*palio*. The 1501 letter from King Fernando and Queen Isabel to the city council of Madrid reads,

you are to receive [the prince and princess] with a *palio* of brocade, as is [the custom] in Castile for receiving the princes. And there are to be two *palios*, which, because they are to be carried together, should be sewn down the middle, each with its own fringe work. And each of them should be only two legs [wide], since otherwise they would be very wide. One of them should be given to whomever the prince, our son, orders, and the other to whomever the princess, our daughter, orders.⁵¹⁴

Admittedly, the city council of Madrid had written to the monarchs in search of instruction on how to receive the prince and princess, but the level of detail that the

⁵¹⁴ “han los de rezebir con palio de brocado como suelen rezebir a los prinçipes de Castilla y deuen ser dos palios, cada uno con sus flocaduras. Y por que han de venyr juntos cosidos por medio bastara que sea cada uno de dos piernas porque de otra manera serian muy anchos. Delos quales se ha de dar el uno a quien mandare el prinçipe nuestro hijo y el otro a quien mandadre la prinçesa nuestra hija.” Granada, 14 October 1501, Sección 2-311-29, Archivo General de la Villa de Madrid. A nearly faithful transcription of the document—with a word or two missing—can be found in *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 19.

petition elicited—including measurements, specific materials to be used, and even the manner of sewing them—seems to go beyond the informative and verge on the obtrusive.⁵¹⁵ In modern parlance, the tone of the letter conveys the impression that the Catholic Monarchs were “micromanaging” the city’s affairs, at least when compared to the tone found in letters to other cities. To recall the power gradient discussed in Chapter 3, this instance would be an example of when the fluctuating power dynamics had monarchs of Castile acting more like the monarchs of Portugal than those of the Crown of Aragon. Perhaps such intricate instructions were the result of ideas that Isabel drew from her tight familial connections with Portugal, or perhaps they were simply the result of Madrid’s small size at the time and its relative political insignificance, compared to the great cities of Seville, Burgos, Toledo, Valladolid, and others. Whatever the reason, it is clear that there were times when the monarchy’s interests and the royal will were placed above that of the city, and this can be seen in the interactions between the two parties with regard to the *palio*.

Other power struggles can be seen in connection with the decoration, sanitation, and repairs to be undertaken as part of organizing a ceremonial reception. An intriguing example of the sort of political maneuverings that could ensue can be seen in 1509, when the city council of Valladolid sent messengers to several nearby communities (*aldeas*) under its jurisdiction, ordering them to appear in the city with “carts for the sanitation of the city for the ceremonial reception” of King Fernando.⁵¹⁶ When the time came,

⁵¹⁵ Besides the details for the *palia*, the letter sets forth a host of other orders commanding the city council not to allow the performance of plays, what colors the municipal uniforms were to be (anything but black), etc.

⁵¹⁶ “carretas para la linpieça de la villa para el Reçibimiento del Rey nuestro señor,” 26 January 1509. Libros de Actas, 1509, f. 409v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid,

however, several communities failed to provide the carts or labor stipulated.⁵¹⁷ The city council minutes show that the magistrates of Valladolid were irked that their authority had been flouted in such a public manner, and they sought punitive actions against the various recalcitrant communities, seeking to impose on each a penalty of 1000 *maravedís* for failing to comply.⁵¹⁸

Economic micro-politics can even be seen in municipal decisions to pave the streets of the processional route. While in the fourteenth century the common practice was to pave city streets with sand (*enarenar*), by the fifteenth century there was a great push to pave the streets with stone (*enpedrar/ enlosar*).⁵¹⁹ It is clear that much of this impetus was by royal instigation, such as when a royal letter copied into the city council minutes of Madrid in 1483 tells us that “it is the wish of their Highnesses that this city and its suburbs, for the hygiene of [the city], be paved in stone.”⁵²⁰ Still, city officials doubtless saw the advantages of paving city streets with stone, not only for the benefits to public health, but also for its utility for commerce. Thus, when ceremonial receptions provided a particularly opportune occasion to pave the city and its environs, it is not surprising that city magistrates agreed to it, especially because, like the removal of trash and manure in the streets, paving was most often at the expense of those people affected.

⁵¹⁷ They also failed to appear with “all the boys and girls of each place with the greatest pomp possible and with a flag ... drummers, and flagmen” : “con todos los moços e moças de cada lugar con el mejor atavio que pudieren e con un pendon e atanbor o tanbores e pañaderos,” 22 January 1509. *Libros de Actas*, 1509, f. 408r, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

⁵¹⁸ See *Libros de Actas*, 1509, fols. 408r-409v and 410 v, Archivo Municipal de Valladolid.

⁵¹⁹ See, for example, the festivities mounted in Burgos to celebrate the birth of Enrique, the son of King Juan I of Castile: “This day they ordered... the streets to be cleaned and paved with sand” : “Este dia mandaron... alinpiar las calles e en arenar las,” 17 July 1379. *Libro de Actas*, 1379, f. 83r, Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

⁵²⁰ “voluntad de sus altezas es questa Villa e sus arrauales, por la linpieza della, se enpiedre,” 12 January 1483. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. I (1464-1485), 217. There is a whole story to be told about the stone pavement of major Spanish cities in the fifteenth century. The correspondence between monarchs and cities to this effect extant in the archives is copious, and it is particularly intriguing that the rhetoric is usually couched in terms of public health, with the monarchs acting as its stewards.

It was most convenient when one of the streets to be paved for a ceremonial reception was located where a city magistrate had an interest. One instance of this self-aggrandizement occurred in 1494 for the reception of Isabel and Fernando. The city council of Madrid elected to pave the street “passing through the gate of Gonzalo de Monzón,” one of the city’s *regidores* who would have participated in this decision.⁵²¹ While it would take an extensive reconstruction of Madrid’s historical landscape to determine Gonzalo de Monzón’s exact interests on this street, it is clear that he would have derived at least some benefits from the project. It probably would have raised the value of any property he owned on the street, and he would have paid little for the materials and labor involved: the city hall minutes indicate that the city was to cover one-third the cost, and the other two-thirds would be divided among the residents of the street.⁵²² In addition, it is noteworthy that Gonzalo de Monzón himself was one of the two men put in charge of overseeing the project,⁵²³ while a certain Iñigo de Monzón was charged with executing the penalties associated with the venture, and a Pedro de Monzón signed as witness to the plans for the whole project.⁵²⁴ It is almost inconceivable that in a city of only about 5000 inhabitants, these were not Gonzalo’s kinsmen, using the ceremonial reception as an opportunity to derive personal benefit.⁵²⁵

⁵²¹ There is some ambiguity in the architectural feature mentioned, since “por la puerta” could either be through a gate, or simply past a doorway. 10 September 1494. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 96.

⁵²² The city council minutes suggest there were several other residents on the street. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. III (1493-1497), 96.

⁵²³ “que tengan cargo desto con el enpedrador los señores Antonio de Luzon y Gonçalo de Monçon.” *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. IV (1498-1501), 342.

⁵²⁴ *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 8-9.

⁵²⁵ Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *España en 1492*. Colección “Historia de América Latina” 1. (Madrid: Hernando, 1978), 31-32.

It is important to note that these many suppliers were not only part of local commercial networks, but also local power structures. The hospital and cathedral were clearly part of the city's local power structure, but several of the merchants listed would appear in the municipal documents over many years and clearly had positions of prominence and ties to the city council of Seville as well. For instance, Bernardo Pinelo was almost certainly related to Francisco Pinelo, *jurado* of the city, listed in a document from the year before, who was put in charge of overseeing the manufacture of some sort of flag (*pendón*) that the city wished to place in the church of Santa María la Mayor.⁵²⁶ The commission for this flag would have been extraordinarily lucrative, as it cost the city a total of 70,000 *maravedís*, as estimated by Francisco Pinelo. Juan de Gallego was a carpenter or wood wholesaler with a large workshop or warehouse, which was inventoried after the platform seating was dismantled on 13 July 1490 and certain quantities of wood came up "missing."⁵²⁷ From a sworn statement (*carta de fe*) probably related to this investigation, it seems that Juan had a kinsman, Ferrand Gallego, who resided in Seville's Santa María neighborhood (*collación*), and served as his agent, delivering certain quantities of wood for the platform seating to Martín Rodríguez, carpenter.⁵²⁸ It is also probable that Juan Núñez de Gallego, the city's master builder (*obrero mayor de la cibdad*), who, eighteen years later, coordinated the construction of

⁵²⁶ 27 April 1489, "A Francisco Pinelo, jurado, para gastar en el pendon, otros veynte mill," Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

⁵²⁷ July 1490?, "La madera que se quitó dela del cadahanso en xiii de jullio de xc años," Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

⁵²⁸ 13 July 1490, "Carta de fe de Martin Rodrigues sobre ciertas tablas que se tomó de Ferrand Gallego para el cadafalso que se hizo para mirar unas justas que se hizieron para honrar el recibimiento del rey, la reyna, y la Infanta Isabel," Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

the 1508 series of triumphal arches for the ceremonial reception of King Fernando, was Juan de Gallego's kinsman, or perhaps his descendant.⁵²⁹

Private interest groups such as guilds could also receive privileges with economic ramifications, seemingly as a reward for their participation in ceremonial receptions. In 1393, for example, King Juan I of Aragon (1387–1396) granted the guild of cloth dyers in the city of Valencia the right to charge membership dues to spend on, among other things, “the costs meant to honor the ceremonial reception of your Majesty.”⁵³⁰ The charter of privileges that Martín I of Aragon extended to the *barbers e cirugians* in Barcelona in 1408 similarly indicates the guild's privilege to raise dues among its members “in [any] case where said professional guild is ordered by the lord king or his officials to perform... errands or undergo expenses, both for the entry of the king, queen, or heir apparent, and any other reasons specified by the king, his officials, or the city.”⁵³¹ Since neither of these documents mentions a termination date, it is probable that guild leaders would keep these privileges even after the ceremonial receptions—a situation that points to important links between overlapping royal and local political spheres.

It could also be the case that the public sector stood to gain certain economic benefits as well, at least under certain circumstances. In 1458, at a meeting of Barcelona's city council (*Consell de Cent*), one of the council members argued that the city should be willing to host a ceremony of reception to honor the arrival of the newly

⁵²⁹ 9 September 1508–12 December 1508, Sección XVI (Diversos), doc. 1010, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Partial transcriptions found throughout Vicente Lleó Cañal, “Recibimiento ... del Rey Fernando el Católico (1508),” 9–23.

⁵³⁰ “les despenses ques fan per fer honor a vos senyor en la entrada.” A guild document in F. de Bofarull, *Gremios y cofradías*, quoted in Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los offices,” 669, n. 76.

⁵³¹ “en cas que per lo senyor Rey o per sos oficials sera manat al dit offici de fer alsunes messions o despeses axi com per entrada de Rey per novella Regina o per primogenit o per qualque altres rahons que lo dit senyor Rey sos oficials o la ciutat ordonara.” A document in F. de Bofarull, *Gremios y cofradías*, quoted in Raufast Chico, “E vingueren los officis,” 669, n. 76.

crowned king of Aragon, Juan II (1458–1479). Ramón Mora argued that not only would the occasion move the king to “reward the city” (*beneficiar la present ciutat*), but the royal presence would, “be extremely advantageous to the city’s inhabitants and increase the sales taxes,” since urban merchants could sell their products to members of the royal court.⁵³² Ramon Mora was not unique in highlighting these arrangements, since about fifty years prior (1404) King Martin I of Aragon, during his negotiations to widen the town square adjacent to the royal palace in Barcelona, asked the councilors to consider that, “[with] the mentioned lord living in the city, the sales taxes tend to increase because of the activity of the persons who follow the court of said lord.”⁵³³ While courtiers were notorious for trying to get out of paying these sales taxes (on luxury goods, but also on simple provisions), that Ramon Mora would repeat this argument almost word for word fifty years later suggests that there was at least a ring of truth to it.⁵³⁴ Whatever the real benefit to municipal tax coffers, what is important is that citizens found the scenario plausible. Their perceptions and expectations were that ceremonial receptions would be reciprocal events, bearing economic and political fruits for the city and its inhabitants as well as for the crown.

Some benefits were the product of the spirit of largesse and generosity that accompanied so many festive occasions. Following a common tradition of political display, the monarchs of Iberia often doled out royal largesse to noblemen and officials,

⁵³² “beneficiar la present ciutat... redundaria en gran util dels habitants en aquella e augmentació de les imposicions.” *Manual de Novells Ardits*, vol. II, 292, quoted in Raufast Chico, “¿Negociar la entrada?,” 316, n. 67.

⁵³³ “habitant lo dit senyor en la dita ciutat, les imposicions prenen creximent per la concurrència de les persones que la cort del dit senior seguexen.” Quoted in Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 113.

⁵³⁴ To give credit where it is due, Raufast Chico was the first to tie together these disparate sources: “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 113.

and even made large donations of alms to the city poor.⁵³⁵ Thus, at his coronation in 1414, King Juan II of Castile gave out to men and women of high social stature a variety of expensive clothes and textiles, including silks, brocades, and damasks trimmed with sable, even presenting the top nobility with richly outfitted mules.⁵³⁶ At King Fernando I of Aragon's 1413 reception into Balaguer (other occasions can be found as well), the king knighted fifty *grandees* (*gentiles-hombres*).⁵³⁷

Similar to the ways in which present-day charitable institutions endeavor to leverage their resources by seeking partnerships and matching funds, the royal and municipal entities under review likewise collaborated. Examples of this occurred when city councils paid out large sums of money to a royal almsman for distribution to local charitable institutions. For example, on 21 July 1490, the city council of Seville drafted a letter to disburse the substantial sum of 112,255 *maravedís* to Matheo de la Quadra, "almsman of the king and queen, our lords."⁵³⁸ The monies (almost as much as the recorded 114,116 *maravedís* spent on the ceremonial reception itself!) were to derive from specific municipal taxes and tolls, namely "the fees from export; from tolls; from fresh, salted, and sardine fish; and from the sales tax on wheat and barely grain, flour and

⁵³⁵ Royal largess was important and was manifest in many forms, encompassing various acts of legal, economic, and broadly conceived "political" largess. The monarch's oaths to confirm a community's historical privileges thus constituted a form of largess, and it is no coincidence that this act was performed in public, just as the largess involving alms and gifts was.

⁵³⁶ Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, Yr. 1414, Ch. III, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II, 359.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, Yr. 1413, Ch. XX, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. II, 356. In addition to ennobling particular individuals, there was the notion that a royal entry ennobled, so to speak, the city at large, bringing honor and prestige to it. Such honor functioned within an economy of prestige and stood to contribute to the city's legal and financial well-being, since it competed against other cities for privileges and commercial markets.

⁵³⁸ 21 July 1490, "Al bachiller Matheo dela Quadra [limosnero del Rey e dela Reyna] para la limosna," Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

seeds sold outside the [city's] granary; [and] from grain [sold] within the city."⁵³⁹

Curiously, the royal almsman was to use these municipal monies "to pay the charity that Their Highnesses command to be given to the city's hospital."

Another instance of charity comes from Madrid, where in 1502 the city council donated 300 *maravedís* to four widows, and 170 to another, to help them whitewash (*blanquear*) and repair or "spruce up" (*envestir*) their houses in preparation for a ceremonial reception. The procession was to go in front of their houses and, although normally such expenses were to be covered by the residents living along the processional route, here the city helped to defray the cost, "because [the recipients were] poor and widowed."⁵⁴⁰ While charitable, the alms clearly served the interests of the city to ensure that such repairs were carried out before arrival of the monarchs. Other times, municipal acts of charity seem to have been a by-product of the ceremonial preparations. In 1497, for example, the city council of Valladolid gave the Confraternity of Mercy, a local charitable institution,

one of the basins... brought to the Square in front of Juan de Uzeda's house for the wine fountain that was erected when [the city] held a reception for the princess of Castile, in order to wash the laundry of the mentioned confraternity.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ "las rentas dela saca, delas cargas, delos pescados fresco e salado e sardina, e del alcauala del pan trigo e çevada e faryna e semillas que se venden fuera del alhondiga, del pan dela dicha çibdad." 21 July 1490, "Al bachiller Matheo dela Quadra [limosnero del Rey e dela Reyna] para la limosna," Sección XV (Mayordomadgo), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

⁵⁴⁰ "[Margin: Libramiento.] Mandaron librar para la de Pedro Diaz e la de Gonçalo de Toledo e la de Andres, frenero, e Luis de Alhama para el blanquear sus pertençias trezientos maravedis, porque son pobres e biudas... Mandaron librar para ayuda del envestir la pertençia de la de Juan de la Xara, porques biuda e pobre çinco reales," 2 March 1502. *Libros de Acuerdos de Madrid*, vol. V (1502-1515), 17-18.

⁵⁴¹ "[Margin: Que se dé una pila a la Misericordia por Dios.] Mandaron dar a la Cofradía de la Misericordia desta villa una pila de las que se trayieron a la Plaça de casa de Juan de Uzeda para la fuente del vino que se fizo, quando se fizo el resçebimiento a la prinçesa de Castilla, para lavar la ropa de la dicha cofradía." *Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, Año 1497*, 143.

While it is difficult to ascertain the intention or impetus behind such an action (the city could simply have been getting rid of something that no longer served a purpose), what is clear is that ceremonial receptions provided opportunities for charity and support of *local* institutions, often serving royal and municipal interests in the process.⁵⁴²

The quid pro quo of ceremonial receptions could even bind city and sovereign in spiritual matters. As part of the ceremonial reception honoring the arrival of the princess and prince into Barcelona in 1487, King Fernando of Aragon instructed the citizens to “give infinite thanks” to God and pray for “their long days and the prosperity of their successors,” that is, for their spiritual wellbeing and the health and marital success of the couple.⁵⁴³ As such examples show, ceremonial receptions could help establish a large prayer-base of Christians willing to pray for the monarch and his or her family members during times of war, illness, or other calamities where divine intervention would be particularly useful.⁵⁴⁴ Clear traces of the reciprocity that sustained such a prayer economy can be seen in the analogous situation of royal donations to monasteries, wherein the

⁵⁴² Anyone having worked in an institutional setting knows first-hand that resource allocation is highly politicized.

⁵⁴³ “donen infinitas gracias ala clemencia diuina suplicant aquella lis done gracia que per longues dies ells y sus susessores reguem prosperament ason sans seruey a gran benefici y bona gouernacio de tots nuestres regnes.” Burgos, 7 April 1487, Lletres reials originals, IX, ser. A-6, num. 1885, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona. Unfortunately, Fernando only identifies the royal family members as the Princess of Castile and Aragon and the Illustrious Prince. I have not yet found another document identifying them by name. It is possible that the princess was María of Aragon (1482-1517), daughter Isabel and Fernando, who became abbess of Pedrabes monastery, but she would have been only about five years old. Antonio Balasch Torrel, “Una princesa en el monasterio de Pedralbes,” *Divulgación Histórica de Barcelona X* (1959): 5-54.

⁵⁴⁴ I have found several examples across the Iberian kingdoms where the monarchs called on urban dwellers with whom they had good relationships to pray for them or for family members. For but a few examples, see: Libro de Actas 1379, f. 83, Archivo Municipal de Burgos, where the inhabitants of Burgos (in Castile) were asked to hold processions with candles to “pray to God for the life of the prince” (*rogar a Dios por la vida deste... Infante*), and in the Crown of Aragon see: Burgos, 7 April 1487, Lletres reials originals, IX, ser. A-6, num. 1885, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona: “lo Illustrisimo princep nostre carissimo fill y la dita Illustrisima princessa son estats velasts e confirmat son legitim matrimoni... donen infinitas gracias ala clemencia diuina suplicant aquella lis done gracia que per longues dies ells y sus susessores reguem prosperament ason sans seruey a gran benefici y bona gouernacio de tots nuestres regnes.”

monarch donated cash, and in return, the monastery delivered prayers at determined times to benefit the monarch and his or her family members. Monastic prayer lists show the expectation of reciprocity quite clearly, since once the designated cash reserves ran out, the prayers associated with them were dropped from the prayer schedule. Prayer at the city level would have functioned in a similar way, although the exact *quid pro quo* was more subtle and left fewer traces than the cash listed in prayer rosters. Instead of cash in exchange for prayers, cities mostly received access to the king and opportunities to influence policy and decisions.

There is, however, at least one well-documented example of city-dwellers actively seeking spiritual benefits from the reciprocal city-king relationship. A royal letter from Fernando II of Aragon (V of Castile) to the citizens of Barcelona summarizes a previous letter that they had sent him, laying out the municipal side of the conversation. According to the letter, some of Barcelona's elites had sought a very specific favor regarding the royal monastery of Pedralbes, on the outskirts of the city. The king stated that "We are very grateful for what you have done for the reception for the illustrious... abbess [of Pedralbes], our beloved daughter, which certainly you have done very well." Then, in response to the subject and purpose of the previous letter he declared, "We will write to the mentioned abbess regarding her reception of the daughters of the local residents [i.e. of the area surrounding Barcelona], as you wrote [to me]."⁵⁴⁵ Here, the elites were

⁵⁴⁵ "Amados y fieles nuestros. Vimos lo que nos screuis en vuestra carta 31 del [mes] passado sobre las cosas del monesterio de Pedraluas. Tenemos vos en mucho seruicio lo que haueys hecho en la recepcion dela Illustrisima ... abadesa nuestra amada hija que cierto lo haueys hecho muy bien. Nos screuimos ala dicha abadesa acerca que resciba las hijas delos naturales de ay como screuis. Y en todas las otras cosas que mire mucho alo que toca a essa ciudat. La yda del Ilustrisimo arçobispo nuestro hijo, lugarteniente y capitan general, sera muy presto plaziendo a nuestro señor, que ya tiene todo despa[c?]ho, y ahora le tomamos a sceuir para que luego se vaya. Dada en Valladolit a XXIII dias del mes de setiembre en el año mil quinientos y quatorse." Valladolid, 24 September 1514 (verso of letter, in another hand, indicates that

seeking royal favor and intervention to ensure that their daughters would be accepted into the royal monastery. Such an acceptance into a royal monastery would have brought with it a variety of perquisites, including access to prayer and spiritual networks, which in the fifteenth century probably would have been considered equal in value to the power and influence valued most in modern times.

Ceremonial receptions required enormous resources, and they had to be extracted from somewhere. The means by which these resources were mobilized and the intent behind such mobilization may seem extractive or burdensome at best. Nevertheless, the preceding pages suggest that the impetus behind the mobilization was not as unilateral and hegemonic as it may first appear. While the monarch's voice may have been the loudest, it did at least have to compete with the voices of others. What is more, in most instances the king clearly protected the city from revenue depletion by allowing it to establish an extra-ordinary sales tax on food staples, and provided additional subsidies when *sis*a revenues were not enough.⁵⁴⁶ When would-be tax dodgers threatened the complete financial apparatus, the king intervened to close the loopholes and have the tax implemented in an equitable manner across all classes and stations. When the burden was still too great for the city to bear alone, the responsibility was distributed over the countryside directly, by way of a *repartimiento*. Although contributions were often forced to one degree or another, they were distributed over a large geographic area, minimizing the impact on any one community. And if ever “great harm and damage” (*grande daño é perjuiçio*) should threaten certain communities preparing for a royal

the archbishop arrived from Saragossa on 9 October 1514), Lletres reials originals, IX, ser. A-6, num. 1957, Consell de Cent, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.

⁵⁴⁶ For the details of these mitigating mechanisms, see the preceding chapter on the economics of royal entries.

reception—as with the example of the firewood crisis in Burgos in 1506—the king intervened and protected the resources of afflicted communities. The king made known his prohibitions by circulating them in writing and by having his edicts cried aloud by heralds, always bolstering them with the threat of confiscation and other heavy penalties. Despite these efforts, royal edicts were frequently ignored or disobeyed, supplies ran scarce, and black markets developed during royal receptions. Ever concerned with class relations and power, Teófilo Ruiz has proposed that municipal participation in ceremonial receptions represented not reciprocation, but contestation.⁵⁴⁷ While doubtless there were instances of contestation, I would like to suggest that it was not the *only* mode of municipal participation. Rather, I would point out that even the debates among citizens suggest a different interpretation. Sources from the Crown of Aragon, where documentary practices left a substantial paper trail of municipal debates (the city of Barcelona, for example, kept an entire series of documents on the council's “Deliberations”), show that citizens always had a choice of whether or not to receive a monarch. While some citizens clearly wished not to support the royal policy in connection with ceremonial receptions, others were clearly in favor of it, finding real advantages to participating. That is to say, such conciliar deliberations do not necessarily imply contestation of the royal will. Moreover, the clear instances of municipal contestation occurred precisely because urban expectations of reciprocation from the monarch were violated.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Teófilo F. Ruiz, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Festivals* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

⁵⁴⁸ A prime example of this is when the city of Valladolid, after generations of loyalty oaths and serving as residence to queens and birthplace of heirs to the kings of Castile, saw Simancas and other of its territories alienated and removed from its jurisdiction, in direct contradiction of royal assurances this would never be done. See the discussion of this episode above.

CONCLUSION

The preceding dissertation proposed a way for deriving a social and cultural history of relationships between municipality and monarchy, from interactions during ceremonial receptions. To study these events, the project employed a variety of new approaches. First, it used a broader definition than previous studies. Instead of the common, *de jure*, distinction made between royal entries and ceremonial receptions—the former supposedly had the presence of an oath ceremony, while the latter supposedly did not—this study focused on the *de facto* commonalities between the two. Second, it explored the ceremonial events from the bottom-up, rather than the more traditional top-down approach. Instead of assuming a model of royal hegemony (frequently articulated as “propaganda”), this study argued that at the heart of such ceremonies laid a power dynamic that was not necessarily static or royally-dominated, but could instead change with the particular political circumstances of each ceremony.

Third, this project used a far greater chronological scope of analysis, considering not only the day of the monarch’s arrival, but also the full spectrum of decision-making associated with such events (the preparations, the day of the procession, and the many months of follow-up). Fourth, it employed a broader source base than the narrative chronicles typically studied, incorporating a large quantity of evidence from municipal archives—including letters, financial accounts, ledgers, supply lists, lists of workers, documents connected to the municipal accounting bodies, and especially city-council minutes (variously called *libros de actas*, *libros de acuerdos*, or *libros de hechos*). Fifth, the study moved away from the common city-based micro study, bringing together a

sampling of data from a dozen municipal archives across Spain and Portugal, allowing for the first in-depth comparisons of pan-Iberian ceremonial practices.

The fresh methodologies and richness of the source base allowed for new levels of discussion and thematic consideration. For example, the project analyzed the economic aspects of ceremonial receptions, how materials were acquired, how much money was paid for them, who were in charge of what, and all sorts of incidental information about the sentiments and conflicts between townsmen when things went awry. Using literary, performance, semiotic, and gender theory, it tied questions about such incidentals to broader academic discussions involving economic ties between central and local government. Such analyses have important implications for how we understand the emergence of centralized monarchies and dynastic states, and especially changing character of the relationship between cities and sovereigns.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the relationships between Spanish monarchs and their cities had a rather personal character, articulated through municipally sponsored ceremonies. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, there began to be changes—not only to the impetus behind the decision-making that made ceremonial receptions possible, but more fundamentally to the precepts underlying the relationship between cities and sovereigns. Such changes marked the beginning of a trend wherein governance became increasingly impersonal, bureaucratized, and in particular, mediated by ministers. In Castile, this can be seen as having occurred rather abruptly (between 1509 and 1513, as seen in the case of Valladolid), when it is clear that the ceremonies were put under royal administration.

Changes in the relationship between cities and sovereigns had certain visible manifestations. Francesc Massip, a scholar of Catalan theater, argues that these changes were given ceremonial form, when ceremonial receptions changed “from a social ritual to a spectacle of power.”⁵⁴⁹ To my mind, Massip’s model is appealing, elegant, and rather descriptive at the level of performance. I would argue in favor of a more expansive model, however, one that is multi-dimensional. For, there was not only a change in the external protocols of the performance of power, but also a host of changes that redefined the relationship between cities and sovereigns. In Castile, and especially in the Crown of Aragon, the monarch became more and more central, while the cities became ever more peripheral. A new configuration of power and policy emerged as cities lost their traditional roles of decision-making, finance, and custodianship of memory. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the act of municipal reception had largely been replaced by the act of royal entry, which increasingly was overlain with a triumphal motif.

This reversal of center-periphery was tied to a number of political, social, and economic factors, including the advent of capital cities and the end of peripatetic monarchies. These many factors combined and led to the disenfranchisement of previously privileged and protected groups, starting locally—at the level of the cities—and diffusing with time to the broader levels of kingdom and empire. Although royal hegemony was successful for about three centuries, it is important to remember that there was a time when obedience to, and reception of, one’s monarch was not immediate. In

⁵⁴⁹ Francesc Massip, “De ritu social a espectacle del poder. L’entrada triomfal d’Alfons el Magnànim a Nàpols (1443), entre la tradició catalana i la innovació humanística,” in *La Corona d’Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso II el Magnanimo. I modelli politico-istituzionali, la circolazione degli uomini, delle idee, delle merci, gli influssi sulla società e sul costume*, XVI Congrès d’Història de la Corona d’Aragó: Nàpols, 1997, (Naples: Paparo, 2000), vol. 2, 1859-1892.

preceding centuries, the pledge of obedience to a monarch frequently came with explicit conditions.

The ubiquity of such conditions, along with the micro-politics present throughout the entire process of the ceremonial reception, complicate numerous recent studies highlighting theater, the performance of royal power, and “the city as stage.”⁵⁵⁰ Such models carry with them the implicit notion that urbanites were merely a passive, receptive audience. To correct the distortion arising from looking at municipal receptions of monarchs through the top-down lens of propaganda, it is imperative to look at these phenomena from the bottom-up, through the lenses of patronage, reciprocity, and cost-benefit analysis. Such perspectives make it possible to see that, under particular circumstances, municipal interests could work actively to secure a variety of opportunities and benefits from ceremonial receptions, even if disenfranchised during other circumstances. Such an approach not only rightfully stresses the urban agency behind so-called royal entries, but also shows us that city-monarch relationships were complex, nuanced, and ever evolving.

There remains a variety of questions to be answered by further research. Although chapter 3 provides a basis for approaching Iberian ceremonial receptions with the use of a model of overlapping centers and peripheries, it compared the cases of only the three largest kingdoms. Studies involving the other kingdoms may very well reveal new

⁵⁵⁰ As Raufast Chico points out, the city-as-stage/audience perspective detracts from the fact that the city was in its own right an “active protagonist”: “protagonista active.” Raufast Chico, “¿Un mismo ceremonial?,” 94. Employing this perspective there are, among other works, Anne-Marie Lecoq, “La città festeggiante. Les fêtes publiques aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles,” *La Revue de l’Art* 33 (1976): 83-100; Lente Kovács, “La ciutat com escenari: Les entrades reials i la festa urbana,” *Barcelona. Quaderns d’Historia* 9 (2003): 71-82; and the essays put forth in *The Court as Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006)—although as mentioned above, Peter Stabel’s essay in this work departs radically from city-as-audience perspective seen in the rest of the essays.

peninsular patterns not discussed here, as well as help us unpack why certain data sets are shared among the kingdoms, while others are not. The addition of other kingdoms could also help shape a field of pan-Iberian inquiry, since the historiographies of each kingdom remain splintered. There is also the important question of the role of religious minorities present at ceremonial receptions. Most of the non-literary documents of these two coexistent cultures were destroyed in the decades following 1492. If any of the fragments left could be brought to bear, our knowledge on this issue could be expanded greatly.

Among Christian populations, it would also be useful to learn how royalty was received outside the municipal sphere. Nobles and clergymen received kings and queens, and it would be interesting to see how these events differed from their urban counterparts. The question of the exact role of the Church is particularly perplexing, since the chronicles inform us that representatives of the clergy were present at most every municipal reception of royalty, and seemingly offered the monarch a mini-reception of their own. I have yet to uncover any clerical documentation that would presumably have recorded such interactions, but perhaps fortunes in the future will change.

Another looming question is how ceremonial receptions came to be organized after the sixteenth century, since the decision-making—and, presumably, the finance—of these was taken out of municipal hands. While the current study has included data through 1516, it remains to be seen how the transfer from one apparatus to the other occurred in the following decades. Particularly intriguing is the change from the Trastámara dynasty to that of the Habsburgs, and what influence this may have had on the city-to-monarchy transfer. Much has been made of the “Burgundian ritual” that was

introduced at court, but the possible ramifications that such protocol might have had at the regional or local level has yet to be explored.

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