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5 Valladolid 1605

A theatre for the peace

Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings

For several weeks the Castilian city of Valladolid, briefly the seat of the Spanish court, served as a theatre for the ratification of the Anglo–Spanish peace, formally bringing to an end twenty years of conflict. The Earl of Nottingham's (Charles Howard's) embassy to Philip III was the second part of the peacemaking process, a reciprocation of the Spanish mission to England the previous year. In this chapter, we examine the theatricality of diplomatic ceremonial. The scripting of the peace on the city stage illustrates how a public and state understanding of international relations was bound up with the grammar and syntax of theatrical display.

While the importance of ceremony is recognised by historians of diplomacy, its wider implications have not been explored.[1] The semiotics of protocol, for example, tend to be understood primarily in socio-political terms, as a shared code of conduct where each participant knew his 'place', and where placing and movement signified status, role, access and so on.[2] Yet the choreographic character of early modern diplomacy admits of comparison with a form of representation that, perhaps not coincidentally, was also evolving into a 'professional' activity over the course of the sixteenth century. Like theatre, with its demarcated space, audience, actors and script, international relations were conducted through rituals of performance. Just as monarchical and civic authority were displayed – and thus legitimated – in the masque, progresses, urban pageants and city entries, so diplomacy was staged, in public as well as elite spaces. This is not simply metaphor. What is most telling about early modern accounts is the attention paid to the theatrical properties of ceremonial, not as mere details of diplomacy but as its essence. For all that negotiations between (or, properly speaking, on behalf of) monarchs were conducted in private, it would be a mistake to conclude that early modern diplomacy offered public 'fictions' that symbolised

1 For a recent exception, see Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
2 See especially William Roosen's important essay 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach', *The Journal of Modern History* 52.3 (1980), 452–76.

(and perhaps misrepresented) transactions previously carried out elsewhere. Indeed, the distinction between 'public' and 'private' is misleading, since *all* behaviour was socially and politically coded, regardless of where it took place. Most significantly, much of what to the modern eye appears to be *mere* ceremonial was in fact the *enactment* of diplomatic relations, not its simulation. As such, conceiving of diplomacy as 'theatrical' is not to invoke an analogy but to align this practice of monarchical negotiation by proxy with the kinds of expression of power that monarchy choreographed for itself: appropriately so, since the early modern ambassador was effectively an actor (surrogate for his master) who performed (in the sense of *represented*) his master's power in the presence of the host. This choreographing of diplomacy produced a complex staging of state-to-state diplomacy in Valladolid in 1605.

The Anglo–Spanish peace was a treaty-as-diptych: a Spanish delegation was sent to London (King James had refused Philip III's request that the negotiations be conducted in Brussels), the treaty was signed there in August 1604, and, on Philip's insistence, the peace was ratified in Spain. This format had considerable implications for the nature and interpretation of the various ceremonies laid on by the host country. Indeed, what happened in Spain may only properly be understood in terms of what had preceded it in England. As we have described elsewhere, this two-legged affair was one of 'symmetry and reciprocity'; and yet while the Spanish had been forced to negotiate the peace in England, Philip held the upper hand in Spain, where the festivities were precisely calibrated to restore Habsburg honour in a peace that had not given Spain what it desired.[3]

The peacemaking and the ratification were not of course identical. The hosting of the English embassy took place after the treaty had been agreed. In England the negotiations began tentatively, with courtly entertainments for the ambassador extraordinary who had been sent ostensibly to congratulate James upon his succession but also to lay the foundations for the peace: only then did the Constable of Castile arrive to sign the treaty. The intrigue surrounding the preliminary negotiations at the Stuart court has been described elsewhere.[4] A year later the Spanish reciprocated, but not in kind. Just as Philip III's lavish gift-giving must have embarrassed James and Anna,[5] so the reception of the English embassy was an elaborate festival that outdid England's hospitality the previous year.

3 See Mark Hutchings and Berta Cano-Echevarría, 'Between Courts: Female Masquers and Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy, 1603–05', *Early Theatre* 15.1 (2012), 91–108.

4 We discuss the preliminaries to the peace in 'The Spanish Ambassador and *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*: A New Document [with text]', *English Literary Renaissance* 42.2 (2012), 223–57.

5 See Gustav Ungerer, 'Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Circulation of Gifts', *Sederi* 9 (1998), 59–78.

Nottingham's progress

From arrival to departure the English mission's reception was finely choreographed. Philip's plan was that Nottingham would make landfall at Santander and proceed south via Burgos, where the English would be impressed by the city's remarkable cathedral, and then on to Valladolid. Perhaps the host's intentions are most evident, however, in the improvisation that was required once news reached Philip that the English fleet had sailed west and dropped anchor off La Coruña. Like a subject held in the monarch's gaze, Nottingham was instructed to remain in Galicia for a whole month while new preparations were made to bring him south. In the interval, the governor of 'the Groyne', as the English called La Coruña, improvised, laying on entertainment for the several hundred Englishmen, while horses, mules and supplies were sent north from Valladolid. It was a pattern that was repeated during Nottingham's 'progress', the English accounts recording how, at every stage on this re-arranged itinerary, provincial dignitaries acted as host to the English king's representative.

Even before the formal entry into Valladolid, Philip's design was clear, as Nottingham was once again 'held' initially on the periphery; throughout the following weeks the embassy would follow the royal script to the letter; indeed, Nottingham's list of requests was largely dismissed, as the king's annotations in the original document indicate.[6] As we propose to show, Philip's intention was to incorporate the embassy into an extended courtly pageant, with the city itself appropriated as theatre. Given James's financial difficulties, trumping England's hospitality was not a difficult feat; what Philip desired was to script the ratification on Habsburg terms (as he had been unable to do with the Treaty of London). The challenge, however, was presented by Valladolid itself, which for all its attributes required considerable modification to serve as festival stage. The reasons for the relocation of the *corte* in 1601 remain unclear, but the effect was to transform the city, with the population doubling to 70,000 in five years. An old residence of the Marquis of Camarasa, bought by the Duke of Lerma (who modern historians suspect to have benefited from shady property dealings) was purchased by Philip. This building, situated opposite San Pablo church, and to which a new banqueting hall connected by a gallery specially commissioned for the peace was still under construction in the spring of 1605, would play a key role in the ratification. The scale of the preparations was noted by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, a Portuguese visitor, who wryly (though perhaps not inaccurately) remarked that '*de hum dia para o outro, se vem huns Palacios encantados onde era montura*' ('enchanted palaces appear suddenly where once there was a dump').[7] This suggestion of a cityscape transformed into a

6 Archivo General de Simancas, E 2557, Fol. 37.

7 Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, ed. Ernesto Rodrigues (Lisbon: Centro de Literaturas e Culturas Lusófonas e Europeias, 2011, p. 53).

theatre of 'enchant[ment]' neatly captures both the size of the task and the civic or regal nature of the festivities envisaged.

Despite the logistical difficulties the city faced (not least accommodating some six hundred 'heretics'), these festivities were elaborate, large-scale, and citywide. As Dudley Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain in a letter dated 10 June, 'Here have bin feasts and triumphs enough for Stoes chronicle, and some what remaines for every day we stay here'.[8] The comparison with Stowe is instructive: Carleton is drawn to remark on the kinds of civic events his countryman chronicled. While some of the hospitality was of course restricted to high-status figures, such as the ratification ceremony itself, the episode is notable for how the city – and its enlarged population – played a key role in the reception of the Nottingham mission. Philip fully understood that 'the point of the festival *is* the audience',[9] and accordingly set the English visitors on a public stage, their presence bearing witness to the peace as 'actors' of a Habsburg script. But the resulting theatre was rather more complex than this analogy allows, for these events were characterised by a fascinating interplay and transposition of roles between constituencies. Our focus here is on three key outdoor events, each of which features the participation of the citizens of Valladolid and whose 'triangulation' illustrates how the politics of the peace was staged, internationally and domestically, and diplomacy enacted.[10]

The entry into the city

The manner of Nottingham's arrival in Valladolid illustrates the ambiguity that attended the embassy's reception. Philip's desire to choreograph the ratification to the very last detail meant that, despite the arduousness of its fortnight-long progress south, the English party was instructed to continue past Valladolid to Simancas, some seven leagues away, and to rest for two days. The principal reason for this was that an approach from the southwest, through the *Puerta del Campo*, afforded the most impressive view of the city for visitors, as it did for its temporary inhabitants the English entourage: the point of entry would then facilitate the most desirable route into and through the city. This set the tone for what was to follow and enabled the king to assert his authority and control over proceedings. But it also meant that the ratification proper began with a form of ceremonial

8 PRO, SP 94/11/123; cited in Gustav Ungerer, 'The Spanish and English Chronicles in King James's and Sir George Buc's Dossiers on the Anglo-Spanish Peace Negotiations', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61.3/4 (1998), 309–24; 320.

9 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Early Modern European Festivals – Politics, Performance, Event and Record', in J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (eds), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 15–25; p. 16.

10 For the dissemination of these texts, see Ungerer, 'The Spanish and English Chronicles'.

that resembled nothing so much as a royal entry.[11] The Constable of Castile had not been accorded a similar honour in London (because James had not been resident there when the constable went to England), though the Spanish ambassador had witnessed James's ceremonial entry into London in March 1604 (delayed because of a particularly severe outbreak of plague); but for many of Nottingham's entourage this occasion may have reminded them of what they had witnessed the previous year, albeit from a rather different perspective. Nottingham himself, appointed Lord High Constable for the entry into London, would effectively reprise that role here.[12] As will become clear, the various entertainments the English visitors enjoyed admitted a range of interpretation, overlaid as they were with the politics of the peace and, indeed, the events that had preceded the signing of the treaty.

The entry is interesting, then, both for its carefully designed theatre and its function as a symbolic (but also actual) enactment of peacemaking. In key respects, it followed the model of royal ceremonials familiar to Europeans, and certainly the rarity of such events explains in part the response of the people of the city. The chief difference, of course, was that here the host was the *king*. Rather than the city admitting the monarch in confirmation of a socio-political contract, as conventionally, in this case the king was overseeing the visit of a foreign, subordinate subject (who nonetheless was a 'substitute' for his brother monarch). Nottingham's 'double' status as both surrogate and representative may explain both the regality of the procession and the ostentatious orchestration of such a privilege by Philip. It represented both his commitment to the peace and an expression of hospitality as power.

While the procession into the city two days later evoked aspects of a royal entry, the embassy's staying at Simancas on Tuesday 14 May was preparatory to that. Valladolid itself would play a chiefly logistical role as Nottingham's civic host, though as we shall see it took an active part in the entertainments arranged; the object of Nottingham's visit was the Spanish king and his *corte*. Thus, elements of the Spanish nobility, by degrees, visited James's emissary prior to the entry, and these visits constituted the earl's first, formal encounter with the *corte*. Instructed on the Tuesday, according to the account of the Somerset Herald, Robert Treswell, 'that it was the Kings pleasure, we should rest at *Simancas* all Wednesday, and not till Thursday come to the Court', the English received on the day following a visit from the son of the current ambassador in England and his designated

11 On the significance of the city entry, see J.R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna Maria Testaverde (eds), *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).

12 See Mark Hutchings and Berta Cano-Echevarría, 'The Spanish Ambassador's Account of James I's Entry into London, 1604 [with text]' in *The Seventeenth Century*, 33.3 (2018), 255–77.

successor.[13] The identity of Nottingham's guests is clearly symbolic, emissaries to emissary, and just as Spain's ambassador to James arrived in England ahead of the Constable of Castile, so here a meeting served as preliminary to the more formal occasions the following day. On the Thursday, a larger party of more senior nobles met the embassy and escorted it towards the city; such was the scale of the events planned that a delay had to be fashioned: about two miles from Valladolid, Nottingham was invited into 'a certain banqueting house which stood vpon the high way, to see the delicacy of the orchards and gardens, as to tast of the variety of fruits within the same'.[14] It seems, however, that this stop had not been planned initially, but was improvised as a result of the constable being delayed:

> *para juntarse todos en casa del Condestable, de donde salieron, se tardaron más tiempo que fuera razón [. . .] y hubo de esperar el Almirante más de dos horas en una huerta.*
>
> [they took longer than was reasonable to gather in the house of the Constable, from where they were to come out, so that the Admiral (Nottingham) was kept waiting for two hours in an orchard.][15]

Finally, led by the admiral's opposite number, the Constable of Castile, his party of high-ranking nobles passed through the *Puerta del Campo*, crossed the esplanade of *Campo Grande*, and emerged onto the Simancas road through the *Puerta del Carmen*. The constable brought with him a horse which he presented to the admiral, who left his coach and mounted, to enter the city alongside his Spanish counterpart. The symbolism of the gift and the mode of conveying James's representative into Valladolid was obvious: one of the English accounts asserts that 'the King himselfe did vse to ride' it.[16] All the eyewitnesses testify to the scale of the occasion. In addition to the escort of members of the *corte*, the embassy received a less formal but more numerous civic presence as it approached the outer *puerta*. In Pinheiro's account,

> *Á tarde, começou a acudir tanta gente e tantos coches, que eles e os cavalos o ocupavam, de maneira que os que passavam não podiam voltar, e lhes era necessário ir adiante, com que se facia uma vista formosissima por espaço de mais de quatro tiros de espingarda.*[17]

13 Robert Treswell, *A Relation of such\Things as Were Observed to Happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham, L. High Admirall of England, His Highnesse Ambassadour to the King of Spaine* (London, 1605), p. 29.
14 Ibid., p. 30.
15 Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997), p. 245.
16 *A Relation*, p. 30.
17 Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, p. 70.

> [In the afternoon, there started to come so many people and coaches to this road that it became completely congested so that those that went could not go back and were forced to continue forward, being a beautiful thing to see for a distance of more than four shots of cannon.]

Unfortunately for all concerned, the uncontrollable intervened – the weather. Treswell records how

> the weather being all that time extraordinarily hot, suddenly to the great disordering of all the company, there fell so great a shewer of raine as the like was not seene of long time before: and continuing till the company could get to the towne, notwithstanding his Lordship kept still his horse backe, accompanied with many of the chiefe of the company.[18]

Nonetheless, the procession continued, albeit in some disarray. Entering through *La Puerta del Campo*, the English would have been struck by the topography of the Spanish city: instead of a succession of narrow streets, as was the case with London pageants, the route was punctuated by plazas opening out before it, arenas that would come to play key roles in the entertainments to follow. First they crossed the *Campo Grande*, home to most of the embassies, and which would serve as the venue for a military parade towards the end of the visit; passing through *La Puerta del Campo*, Nottingham and the constable then paraded through streets that took them to the Plaza Mayor, which would host the bullfight and the *juego de cañas*, and then 'along by the Court gate' to the royal palace; here 'the King, Queen and Ladies (as it was sa[i]d) [were] standing in seuerall windows to take view of the company',[19] while another source states that the king privately took a coach incognito to observe the English unseen.[20] From this plaza, which would play a key role in later events, Nottingham was escorted to his lodgings nearby, where in the evening he was visited by 'diuers Noble men as also the *Mayordomo* to the Queen', Treswell remarking that this 'was much wondred at by the Spaniards themselues, for that (if they speake true) they neuer knew the like fauour done to any Ambassadour whatsoeuer'.[21]

Philip's desire to observe the fruits of his choreography was in keeping with his predilection for such private viewing (he would later observe the christening of his son from a place of concealment), but it also draws attention to the spectacle of ceremonial entries as doubly significant, both ideologically and theatrically. Rather than distinguish between ceremonial as

18 *A Relation*, p. 31.
19 Ibid., p. 32.
20 Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, p. 72.
21 *A Relation*, p. 32.

enactment and spectacle as theatrical entertainment,[22] we read these events as signifying through the performance which, after all, constitutes them. Moreover, the city entry deconstructs notional identities: Nottingham's embassy is both actor (in the eyes of the fascinated populace) and audience of the city, itself a spectacle, even – newly imagined as setting for the English – to those daily familiar with it. Here, and in the events we consider below, this fluidity between viewer and viewed, subject and object, creates a telling dynamic. Indeed, perhaps curiously, given the usual focus on the monarch, it is in and through the figure of Nottingham in particular that this complexity may be seen to work. His presence in Spain could not but be controversial, given his role in the recent conflict. The grandeur of his entry into Valladolid accorded with his status as former enemy as well as ambassador for the peace, and this dual status was activated at points during his visit. As we show below, for the wider population this facet of the ratification was available through the theatre of diplomacy, in the ways in which political perspectives could be articulated, sometimes silently, always visibly (see Plate 4).

The Pentecost procession

Once inside the city gates, the embassy became an actual, visible presence: anticipation gave way to perception, and the hosting of the embassy began in earnest. It was within the walls of the city that the festival proper would begin, and where, indeed, the inevitable tensions, albeit muted, would be played out. In Spain, the conflict with England had been understood and presented as a war against religious secession; while the English had steadfastly avoided the religious issue during the peace negotiations, for Spaniards this remained the key question, and even though it could be elided at the level of state, it manifested itself in various ways in public.[23] How the English responded to the rites and symbols of Catholicism was observed with keen interest, and much was made of even the slightest hint of reconversion.[24] Pinheiro da Veiga records that

> *me afirmaram que, em chegando esta gente à Corunha, acudiram infinitos às missas, e que o embaixador fizera tornar a embarcar como trinta*

22 Watanabe-O'Kelly, pp. 15–16.

23 The articles of the peace were translated from Latin into English and published in London to quieten rumours of concessions made in the treaty to religious toleration: *Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce* (London, 1605).

24 Conversions there certainly were. Pickering Wotton, whose father (created first Baron Wotton of Marley by James I on 13 May 1613) escorted the Constable of Castile when he arrived in England, was a member of the English embassy to Valladolid, where he converted and, remaining after the departure of the embassy, died there in October 1605. See 'Wotton, Edward, first Baron Wotton (1548–1628), diplomat and administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn. 2013).

> *deles, para atemorizar os mais. Aquí, vi ir alguns a missa e vésperas, descobertos, não sei si por curiosidade.*[25]
>
> [I was told that upon arrival in La Coruña, many of these people went to hear mass and the ambassador ordered thirty of them to re-embark as a warning to the rest. Here I have seen some attend mass and vespers openly, I don't know if merely out of curiosity.]

Such local impressions and encounters surely informed Valladolid's experience of the choreographed events, but they also had a deeper political resonance. Since 1589 the city had hosted a seminary for English Catholic priests who returned to England to minister secretly (and at risk of their lives) to Catholic communities. Understandably, the head of the English College, Joseph Creswell, saw an opportunity and sought to arrange a private interview with Nottingham; he pressed the Council of State to schedule a visit to the college by Philip, accompanied by the admiral: after all, Englishmen were coming to the college in private, '*unos de dia y otros de noche, y yo andando a buscar a los que no atreven venir aca*' ('some during the day, some at night and I myself go to fetch those that don't dare to come here').[26] During the conflict, both Philip and his father had honoured the college with royal visits,[27] but Creswell's suggestion was politically awkward, and it did not take place.[28]

If such a public demonstration of religious reconciliation of compatriots was impossible, the liturgical calendar offered Philip an opportunity to make a more subtle point. The Pentecost feast with its traditional procession through the streets of the city was taking place at the end of May, and Philip made sure that it coincided with the christening of the newborn prince, the future Philip IV. With this combination of celebrations, all the paraphernalia of Roman ritual could be exhibited freely to the higher glory of the Habsburg dynasty. Creswell himself approved, especially as the king in person marched in the procession:

> *Admirablemente fue traçada la fiesta del bateo, y q su mgd (Dios le guarde) andubiesse en la procession, porque esta gente no ha visto antes*

25 Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, p. 73.

26 Joseph Creswell's letter to Lerma. Archivo General de Simancas, E 2557, Fol. 40.

27 See Berta Cano-Echevarría *et al.*, '"Comfort without offence"? The Performance and Transmission of Exile Literature at the English College, Valladolid, 1592–1600', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31.1 (Winter/Hiver 2008), 31–67.

28 Although the visit to the English College did not take place, a number of historians and critics, possibly misled by the discussions of the Council, accept it as fact. See for example, Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), p. 216; Robert W. Kenny, 'Peace with Spain, 1605', *History Today* 20.3 (1970), 198–208, 206; and Ungerer, 'The Spanish and English Chronicles', p. 313. Proof that it did not take place is found in a letter of Joseph Creswell to the Council dated 17 September 1605 (Archivo General de Simancas, E 2512, Fol. 48) where he asks for permission to send a letter to King James and include the emblems and poems that the students had devised for the occasion but did not have the chance to display.

> *las cosas de nuestra religion autorizadas, si no reprobadas y castigadas. El Sr a de premiar la traça y los traçadores.*
>
> [The feast of the christening was admirably designed and so that his Majesty (God save him) walked with the procession, because these people have never seen before things of our religion authorized, but condemned and punished. The lord will reward the design and its designers.]

Indeed, a great deal of tact was required because on this occasion the monarch would descend from his characteristically high position to walk along the streets as one more *processante*. The order in which the various participants were to march was carefully planned and meticulously recorded by Treswell:

> First went many Friers singing, bearing amongst them diverse crosses, banners, and other ceremonious reliques of the Church, the Sacrament being likewise caried by foure church-officers.
>
> Then followed divers Noblemen according to their degrees.
>
> Next before the Kings owne person went the yonger princes of Savoy.
>
> Then the king himselfe in person: after whom followed the Cardinal being Archbishop of *Toledo*, and with him the Prince of Savoy the elder brother. Then followed together the Prince of *Moroco*, the Emperours Ambassadour: the Ambassadour of France: the Ambassadour of Venice: after whom followed divers Gentlemen of the Kings chamber, and the rest of the traine.[29]

What Treswell does not explain (perhaps intentionally) is Nottingham's position in the procession, as he is not listed among the other ambassadors. The Spanish sources, however, make clear that some English gentlemen, one of them the Count of Perth, a relative of the King of England, and another, Sir Thomas, son of the Count of Suffolk, marched with the Spanish noblemen, while Nottingham enjoyed a position of honour, having been placed at a balcony where he could both watch and be watched. This vantage point, conspicuous on the corner opposite the royal palace and with a view of both the church of San Pablo and the palace, framed the ambassador for the two hours he stood there, dressed magnificently

> *con la gorra en la mano, y un capotillo con muchos botones de diamantes, casaca guarnecida de la misma manera, y el collar grande de la orden de la jarretera.*[30]
>
> [with a cap in his hand, wearing a short cape full of diamond buttons, his doublet decorated in the same manner and the large medallion of the order of the garter]

29 *A Relation*, pp. 35–6.

30 Anon., *Relacion . . . Valladolid*, p. 18.

As the king passed, Nottingham bowed to him, Philip in turn uncovering his head, which was interpreted as a gesture of goodwill by both parties.

But the whole episode had a more complex side to it, as must have been evident to many in the crowd. Just five years before, Valladolid had witnessed the procession of an image of the Virgin desecrated in the English attack on Cadiz in 1596, its deliverance presided over by the queen herself as it was taken to the English College, which had undertaken the task of protecting the 'Vulnerata' as an act of penance on behalf of its countrymen. Now, framed in the balcony was the very man who had commanded the soldiers responsible. His position was not only a vantage point to watch the feast, but (unknowingly) a symbolic act of atonement as he held his hat in his hands and contemplated the various relics and images passing below; the grandeur of the occasion, with the participation of the king, was reminiscent of that other great procession in which the queen had been present, when war with England was brought home to Valladolid.

The bullfight and the *juego de cañas*

On 9 June, the day of Corpus Christi, the peace was finally ratified in a ceremony preceded by another religious procession through the city. The ratification was carefully designed to perform the power of the Habsburg monarchy and the relative inferiority of the English representative (who was invited to sit on a stool for part of the proceedings). The citizens of Valladolid saw nothing of this, save perhaps glimpses of the cortege as it made its way through the specially constructed passage connecting the palace with the new banqueting hall. But the ratification was celebrated publicly the following day, bringing together nobles and commoners, Spaniards and Englishmen, in the centre of the city, the Plaza Mayor.

Unlike in England, where it was essentially a form of popular entertainment confined to the less salubrious parts of London, bullfighting in Spain also attracted nobles and even monarchs to pit their courage against the bull.[31] In 1527, during the festivities for the birth of Philip II in Valladolid, Charles V fought a bull on horseback with a spear; ever since that occasion, bullfighting had become a feature of monarchical festivities.[32] Even more novel to English eyes was the *juego de cañas* that often followed. This dangerous sport, like the faux-medieval tournament, was exclusively played by the nobility, richly attired in the Moorish fashion and mounted on horses, launching their *cañas* high in the air against the defending quadrilles,

31 On the relatively minor popularity of English baiting, see Oscar Brownstein, 'The Popularity of Baiting in England before 1600: A Study in Social and Theatrical History', *Educational Theater Journal* 21.3 (1969), 237–50.

32 Emilio Casares, *Valladolid en la Historia Taurina (1152–1890)* (Valladolid: Disputación Provincial, 1999), pp. 35–67.

protected by shields. This martial display, on the heels of the ratification, served to underline Philip's appropriation of the terms by which the peace-making might symbolically be understood. (See Plate 5.)

The Plaza Mayor in Valladolid was a perfect stage for such a spectacle. Despite the shortcomings of the city as the seat of the court, it offered a magnificent arena surrounded by uniform buildings with three storeys of balconies and an elegant town hall, all newly built after a fire had destroyed it some forty years before.[33] For occasions such as this, the square would be surrounded by scaffolds, the windows hanging with banners and the ground covered with sand to improve the performance of the animals. The enlargement of the square allowed for an unprecedented number of spectators to attend. The official Spanish *Relacion* gives the astonishing figure of one hundred thousand people,[34] but Pinheiro is more detailed, and perhaps his figure is the more accurate:

> *caberiam neles [os palanques] dez ou doze mil pessoas. Tem a Praça três ordens de janelas nos três sobrados, e em cada orden há cem janelas, e, sobre elas, eirados com seu corrimão, que tomam toda a largura da primeira casa, e, detrás dela, dez com muitas janelas sobre o eirado, que são duzentas janelinhas; [. . .] Estavam todos estes lugares ocupados, e os telhados se destelharam, e estaba a gente em pinha sobre eles. Entram na Praça catorze ruas, e nelas se fizeram tablados de dos sobrados, que as ocupavam: fizemos computaçao da gente que podía já estar sentada e achámos que seriam mais de quarenta mil pessoas; e, com haver tanto lugar, nos custou lugar para amigos duzentos reais, mas valiam a mil e oitocentos os ordinários.*[35]
>
> [The scaffolds could hold between ten and twelve thousand people. The square has three orders of windows in three storeys, with one hundred windows in each, and above, a roof terrace with its corridor, and behind ten attics with many windows over the terrace, totalling two hundred little windows [. . .]. All these were occupied and the tiles were taken off the roofs so that people could stand crammed together on them. Fourteen streets enter the square and here scaffolds of two storeys were placed. We calculated the number of people that could be accommodated and estimated some forty thousand. Despite the abundance of space we had to pay two hundred *reales* for our seats, but the ordinary seats cost one thousand and eight hundred.]

33 After the fire of 1561, Philip II commissioned the architect Francisco de Salamanca to design a project for the rebuilding of the whole area; this modernised the centre and allowed space for one of the biggest plazas in Spain to be built. See José Altés Bustelo, *La Plaza Mayor de Valladolid: el proyecto de Francisco de Salamanca para la reedificación del centro* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1993).

34 'Adonde se juzgó que avia poco menos de cien mil personas'; *Relacion de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Valladolid, desde el punto del felicissimo nacimiento del Principe Don Felipe Dominico Victor nuestro Señor: hasta que se acabaron las demostraciones de alegria que por el se hizieron* (Valladolid, 1605), p. 32.

35 Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, pp. 135–6.

According to the sources, many came from distant places, but despite the number of foreign visitors and the high prices, possibly more than half of the inhabitants of the city were present.

Such an event staged protocol as well as sport. As with a royal occasion, only in this case in the open air, the theatre of court etiquette was on display. Indeed, the event was organised and paid for by the city (in whose jurisdiction it was held), and presided over by the mayor, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, the future Count of Gondomar and ambassador to England. Although the bullfighting did not begin until three in the afternoon the spectacle commenced at noon, with the entrance of the king and queen on horseback, followed (also mounted) by the ladies in waiting, each accompanied by two escorts on foot.[36] Philip and Margaret dined in the town hall, served by the ladies, and then appeared on the balcony to signal the beginning of the feast. By this time everyone was seated, the town hall balconies reserved for the nobility and the English notables, the ladies flanking the monarchs on the left, the gentlemen on the right. Special attention was given to the English: 'and for that his Lordship and all his company from the meanest to the highest, should have the pleasure of the sights, there were some appointed to see every Englishman furnished of convenient roome: which they did'.[37] But just as the event was about to begin, with all eyes on the king, Philip drew everyone's attention to Nottingham by inviting him to sit among the ladies instead. Thus was choreographed a curious moment of theatre as the admiral vacated his seat, exited the balcony and reappeared to take his new place, conspicuously with the Spanish ladies (Pinheiro remarked that he cunningly chose to sit beside the prettiest, Catalina de la Cerda).[38] However this moment might be interpreted, once again, as with the Pentecost procession, attention was being drawn to Nottingham.

The significance of this occasion for the English and Spanish is similarly unclear and, in keeping with the complexity of this episode, contradictory. To a degree this was a question of cultural difference. The English accounts report that men and horses were killed during the bullfighting; the Spanish sources make no mention of this, only that the Constable of Castile suffered

36 Pinheiro admits that this entry pleased him most of the whole feast, '*pelo descostume de ver entrar as damas a cavalo e com tanto concerto e magestade; e, assim, destas festas, os accesorios foram o mais principal*' ('because it is very unusual to see the ladies on horseback with such co-ordinated movement and majesty; and so in this feast the unusual features were the most important'), Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, p. 138.

37 *A Relation*, p. 45.

38 Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia*, p. 140.

a slight head injury in the *juego de cañas*.[39] Whatever the accuracy of these accounts, they betray a certain sensibility which perhaps offers a clue to how such spectacles signified to each party. Both English accounts, the anonymous *The Royal Entertainment* and Robert Treswell's *A Relation of Such Things*, served to promote the peace to a somewhat sceptical English audience, here was a reminder of underlying tensions and, perhaps, cultural stereotyping. But as everyone recognised, such displays of martial power were always doubly coded, as both playful simulations and reminders that the courtier–soldier remained ready to fight: as so often, peacemaking had as its corollary the expression of war-readiness. Importantly, the audience for this performance was not only the English but the Spanish citizens, who were perhaps reassured by the Habsburg prowess they witnessed.

A week later, after a fabulous masque in the new ceremonial hall,[40] the English delegation departed. But the memory of the English visitors left its trace not only in written accounts but also in the private entertainments that the court enjoyed in the summer months that were to follow. A surprising record left by Cabrera de Córdoba describes how during the festivity of Midsummer Night the monarchs enjoyed watching a mock re-representation of the court masque in the gardens of the Duke of Lerma's estate. Men played the role of women, a 'truant' played the queen and a coach man the Cardinal of Toledo, while Nottingham was represented by a eunuch called Sevillano. In the light of this it is tempting to return to the placing of Nottingham among the ladies and read Philip's stagecraft as finely calibrated mockery the Spanish audience would have appreciated.

The festival of 1605 was the culmination of a series of civic and royal events the city would experience, prior to the *corte*'s return to Madrid the following year. Crucially, the war with England had been central to all of them, since the 1600 visit of the king and the procession of the Vulnerata the same year both involved the English College: the presence of the English commander a decade later surely produced a cultural echo of past enmity, however much the present was concerned with the peace. Over all of this hung the issue of religion, and the question of toleration of Catholics in England which the Treaty of London had not resolved, but which the ratification highlighted by the Englishmen's very appearance in the royal city. It may be that Nottingham himself could only have been received ambivalently, given recent history: protocol required that he be treated with respect according to his rank, but collective cultural memory – represented chiefly by the citizenry of Valladolid – could not be so easily overridden. As it happened, Nottingham would be criticised at home for a perceived laxness in

39 *A Relation*, p. 46; *The Royal Entertainement of the Right Honourable the Earle of Nottingham, Sent Ambassador from His Maiestie to the King of Spaine* (London, 1605), p. 13; Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas*, p. 249.

40 See Hutchings and Cano-Echevarría, 'Between Courts: Female Masquers and Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy, 1603–05', *Early Theatre* 15.1 (2012), 91–108.

how he tolerated his charges' exposure to religious temptation, and only months later the Gunpowder Plot would put an end to any question of greater religious toleration in England. And yet despite these tensions the peace would endure for the duration of James's and Philip's reigns, and indeed – though it came to naught – it laid the foundations for a Stuart–Habsburg match in 1623.

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6 The shield of ceremony

Civic ritual and royal entries in wartime

Fabian Persson

In early modern Europe, loyalty between ruler and subject was fundamental. Yet it was a bond that was sometimes broken. A realm would then descend into chaos and civil war, as during the *Fronde* in France, the Civil War in England or the Time of Troubles in Russia. Breakdown of social order threatened citizens, but a refusal to obey could also lead to provinces breaking away, such as the Netherlands and Portugal from Spain. Thus, it was often in the interest of both ruler and subjects to sustain the bonds holding them together. Princes and subjects had to cooperate at least to a certain degree. For society to function, people had to agree on basic rules of conduct. To express such bonds, public rituals were used, among them the joyous entry.[1]

Joyous entries took many different forms in medieval and early modern Europe. They were called *entrée joyeuse*, royal entry, *eriksgata* or *Huldigungsfahrt*, according to local customs, but these ceremonies had a number of important characteristics in common.[2] They were often performed at the beginning of the reign of a new prince and included the ceremonial entry of the prince into a principal town. The prince was extolled and recognised as the legitimate ruler, while he in return confirmed the town's customary rights and privileges.[3] A wide array of forms was used to express the common bond between ruler and subjects, such as ephemeral arches, orations,

1 R.J. Knecht, 'Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-Century France', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), vol.1, pp. 19–31. Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1996).

2 For the Swedish *eriksgata*, see the discussion in Fabian Persson 'So that we Swedes are not more swine or goats than they are: Space and Ceremony at the Swedish Court', in Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen (ed.), *Beyond Scylla and Charybdis: European Courts and Court Residences Outside Habsburg and Valois/Bourbon Territories, 1500–1700* (Copenhagen: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2015).

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