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**Prince Philip of Spain's journey to England
according to the Spanish *relaciones***

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ABSTRACT

The following B.A. Thesis presents a study on the journey that Prince Philip of Spain made to England to celebrate his marriage to Queen Mary I on 25 July 1554. By drawing on the Spanish *relaciones de sucesos* written by Andrés Muñoz (1554), Juan de Barahona (1554), Fray Bartolomé de Miranda (1554-55), and four anonymous manuscript *carta-relaciones* (1554), a chronological reconstruction of circumstances and events is provided, focusing on the dates and most significant episodes, as well as the attitudes and personal stand that the authors display regarding Prince Philip, the English people, and the Queen of England. An attempt will be made to identify the degree to which those *relaciones* could have used propaganda in their news reporting.

Keywords: Philip Prince of Spain, Mary I of England, *Relaciones de sucesos*, Journey, Propaganda

El siguiente Trabajo de Fin de Grado presenta un estudio sobre la jornada que el Prince Felipe de España hizo a Inglaterra para casarse con la Reina María I el 25 de julio de 1554. A través de las relaciones de sucesos españolas escritas por Andrés Muñoz (1554), Juan de Barahona (1554), Fray Bartolomé de Miranda (1554-55) y cuatro carta-relaciones escritas por autores desconocidos, se ha realizado una reconstrucción cronológica de los eventos y circunstancias que rodearon a este viaje, centrándose en las fechas y en los episodios más importantes. Así mismo, se ha tomado en consideración las actitudes y comentarios personales que cada uno de los autores hace sobre el Príncipe Felipe, los ciudadanos ingleses y la Reina de Inglaterra. Se pretende identificar el grado de propaganda que estas relaciones pudieran haber incluido en sus noticias.

Palabras Clave: Príncipe Felipe, María I de Inglaterra, Relaciones de sucesos, Jornada, Propaganda

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Introduction

The following B.A. Thesis belongs to the area of Anglo-Spanish relations, and deals with the journey that Prince Philip of Spain made to England to marry Queen Mary I on 25 July 1554. It examines the Spanish *relaciones de sucesos* that describe and detail all the events and circumstances surrounding it and evaluates the role of propaganda in their narration.

Because of its geopolitical importance, the *jornada* was recorded abundantly throughout Europe, in German, English, Italian, and Spanish. There are at least five Italian and seven Spanish *relaciones* preserved until our days. For this thesis, we have read and examined the Spanish versions, mainly the *Sumaria y verdadera relación del buen viaje que el invictísimo Príncipe de las Españas don Felipe hizo a Inglaterra*, by Andrés Muñoz (Zaragoza, 1554), and four anonymous manuscript *carta-relaciones* (written then, but first edited in 1877), namely, *Traslado de una carta embiada de Inglaterra (Carta 1)*, *Carta en la cual se da Relacion de lo que ha pasado en el reino de Inglaterra después (Carta 2)*, *Carta segunda del mesmo, dando relacion de las cosas que han pasado después (Carta 3)*, and *Traslado de una carta que fué embiada del reyno de Inglaterra a [la] Condesa de Olivares (Carta 4)*. The *Relacion del viaje del Principe D. Felipe cuando se fue a casar a Inglaterra*, by Juan de Barahona (first edited in Madrid, 1842) and, finally, *Relación del suceso que tubo el principe de España Phelipe*, by Fray Bartolomé de Miranda (1554-5), not printed until 1979, have also been used.

To carry out the study, it was first necessary to read the extant research about the journey and the wedding, and the historical context surrounding both. The next step was to compile the *relaciones* mentioned above. Their edited versions were by Pascual de Gayangos (Muñoz and the four letters), Martín Fernández Navarrete, Miguel Salvá, Pedro Sainz de Baranda (Barahona) and Dr. José María Ruiz (De Miranda). They were read and the evidence extracted: the dates, the places where Prince Philip and his retinue stopped, the people they encountered, as well as the most significant episodes, like receptions and celebrations. Throughout their reading, the attitude of the authors in narrations was analyzed, to show the way in which they could have used the events with propaganda purposes.

The results are presented in the following pages. The Thesis is divided into an introductory part where the genre of the *relaciones de sucesos* is explored, the

significance of the journey's aim (the wedding of Prince Philip and Queen Mary), and the different studies that have been written about it. After this introduction, the information extracted from the *relaciones* is presented in the form of a reconstruction of the complete journey (from the moment the news of the marriage come until a few days after the marriage), in chronological order. This reconstruction is complemented by the highlight of the attitudes and opinions of the *relaciones'* authors, showing which ones have a more propagandistic tone (and so, directed toward the common public) and which ones lack that tone and are more open when describing the situation and people during the *jornada* in England.

Thus, as will be shown in the conclusions, the *relaciones* with a greater propagandistic weight were those that were printed and distributed, like Muñoz's and Barahona's, while De Miranda's is more focused on the restoration of Catholicism in England and the manuscript *carta-relaciones* were directed only to the addressee they were sent to, as they contain information which it would not be good for the common public to know.

Relaciones de sucesos and Prince Philip of Spain's jornada to England

In the words of Henry Ettinghausen, early modern *relaciones de sucesos* constitute a form of “pre-periodical press [that] has not been properly recognized for what it was, a pan-European phenomenon,” until the publication of Andrew Pettegree’s *The Invention of News* in 2014 (11-12). María José Bertomeu Masiá gives her own definition, referring to them as an ancestor of the modern press that narrated relevant information about events for the common public, as well as having propagandistic functions (6). This is in agreement with the SIELAE’s definition of *relaciones*: “[...] those documents that narrate a real or invented event to inform, entertain and move the public [...]” (6). A *relación de sucesos* could therefore be defined as a pre-periodical document that narrates relevant events to inform and entertain, as well as has propagandistic functions.

These *relaciones* can be found in two basic formats: the *carta-relación*, which is written as a letter and narrates the events to its addressee, and the *relación* proper, which has the form of a narrative that is not addressed to anyone in particular (Masiá 7). These *relaciones* can also be divided according to their theme. They could treat politics and historical events like discoveries, conquests, battles, etc. (Ettinghausen 83-117), in addition to religious topics like celebrations, missions, embassies, etc., and controversy (119-44), as well as witchcraft, crimes, punishments, miracles, etc. (145-72). Royal events like marriages, journeys, festivities, and funerals were themes treated too (55-81). The *relaciones* could also narrate natural disasters (floods, storms), plagues (173-207), and even medical and biological matters like the deformity in infants (209-36).

This study is concerned with the *relaciones de viajes* (journeys) and particularly with the ones that relate the *jornada* (journey) that Principe Philip of Spain made to England to marry Mary I. They usually present a similar structure. They narrate the journey of a member of the royalty or nobility to another nation, beginning with a detailed description of the Court (made of lords and gentlemen) and the Household (the service that takes care of daily affairs). After this, the journey begins and its stops, receptions, welcomes, and feasts are detailed. The celebrations could be public, usually including bullfights and pageants, or private, with theatrical performances. These *relaciones* usually finish when the entourage arrives at its destination.

The marriage of Mary I of England and Prince Philip was extremely important, as for decades the relationship between England and Spain was continually on a deadline (Samson, “A Fine Romance” 67). As Mary ascended the throne during an unstable political situation, her Council introduced the question of her marriage (Loades 57-58). One idea was for Mary to marry his cousin Charles V, but as he expressed to his son in a letter, his old age and sickness were not favorable for marriage. So, Charles V introduced his son as a suitor after having carefully weighed the benefits of this union, which were “so great and so obvious” (Parker 43). This would not only mean a new triumph for the Habsburg dynasty (Martinez Millán 252), but the control of the Netherlands—even if Philip was not chosen as Holy Emperor—the Channel and the North Sea (Samson, “Mary and Philip” 27). It would reinforce an earlier Anglo-Burgundian-Spanish alliance, already created by Catherine of Aragon and so strengthen Philip’s hand in Charles’s rivalry with his brother and nephew (Loades 63). It would keep “the French away” (Parker 43) and conduct England into the Catholic faith again (Parker 48).

However, Charles’s plans got truncated during the marriage negotiations, because of the different articles that, as Parker writes, were “humiliating for Philip” (44). Morales Folguera (188-89) focuses on three: if the Queen dies and there are no heirs, Philip’s authority in England will end, but if the senior Spanish line fails, the entire heritage passes to the descendants of this marriage, if any; the possible descendants of the union could not inherit or claim the realm of Spain, Spanish Italy, and the Indies, and would inherit England and the Netherlands (also, Philip’s son, Infant Carlos, could not claim England if the new couple had no children) (Loades 73-74); and England would not tangle in wars with France (Parker 44).

Seen in this light, the marriage agreement was received as a huge event, with an uncertain promise. It is not surprising that Philip’s *jornada* to England was reported internationally (Ettinghausen 58-59). At least seven Spanish *relaciones* have reached our days, written and published in the 1500s and 1600s. Other *relaciones* that were written came from Italy and, as Masiá points out, these are at least five (10-11). Four of them are short anonymous *relaciones* in quarto and octavo formats, printed in 1554 in Roma and Venice.

We will concentrate on the Spanish *relaciones*. The *Sumaria y verdadera relación del buen viaje que el invictísimo Príncipe de las Españas don Felipe hizo a Inglaterra*,

written by Andrés Muñoz, a member of the Infant Carlos's Household, is the most complete relation of events, printed in 1554 in Zaragoza and first edited in 1877 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles. In it, and different from the others, the events before the journey are narrated, after Prince Philip's Lord Chamberlain gives him the necessary dispatches of his marriage with Mary I. After this come the organization of Prince Philip's Court and Household, the Chamber, the soldiers and gentlemen, etc. The journey starts with Philip marching to Alcántara to give his sister Joanna detailed instructions for her regency in Castile. Separating their ways, Philip goes to Benavente, where he will bid his son farewell. Different celebrations were made in their honor and after nine days, Philip left for Santiago and then La Coruña. From there, he embarked and arrived in England in four days. He disembarked in Southampton a day after his arrival and moved towards Winchester, where Mary was awaiting him. The *relación* ends up with descriptions of the kings' affairs a few days after the wedding and a number of popular lyrics (*villancicos*) recounting of the mythical origins of England and in praise of the Catholic faith.

Along with Muñoz's *relación*, four manuscript Spanish *cartas-relaciones* are included. They are preserved in the Códice Escorialense de *Misceláneas* of the Biblioteca Nacional. The first one is anonymous and is called *Traslado de una carta embiada de Inglaterra*, addressed to and printed by Andrés de Burgos in Seville. This letter narrates the journey and contributes facts and information about the seafaring, the early time in England, the wedding, and the days after it as well as explaining the troubles the Spanish were having with thieves, the conflicts with France and in the Netherlands. It ends up mentioning that the kings were going to go to a house owned by Mary's treasurer. A second anonymous *carta-relación* called *Carta en la cual se da Relacion de lo que ha pasado en el reino de Inglaterra después*, written for a gentleman from Salamanca. It narrates the same events as Muñoz and adds when the newlywed couple went to London, explaining the conflicts and attacks the Spanish faced among the English and the army's dispatch to the Netherlands. A third *carta-relación* directed to the same gentleman, is called *Carta segunda del mesmo, dando relacion de las cosas que han pasado despues* and narrates the same aspects of the journey but focuses more on the impressions that the Spanish had about England. It ends with Mary's possible pregnancy and future journey of the Prince to Naples to be crowned. The last is another anonymous *carta* called *Traslado de una carta que fué embiada del reyno de Inglaterra a [la] Condesa de*

Olivares relating Cardinal Reginald Pole's arrival (called to help in the restoration of Catholicism), his reception and the speech he gave in Parliament, ending up with some spectacles and equestrian performances.

All these *cartas-relaciones*, along with Muñoz's narrative, were edited by Pascual de Gayangos in 1877. But two other relations of Philip's *jornada* exist, which were edited elsewhere. The first one is *Relacion del viaje del Principe D. Felipe cuando se fue a casar a Inglaterra*, written by Juan de Barahona and first edited in 1842 in Madrid, which can be found in the printed *Colección de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España*. This narration is similar to Muñoz's and the first *carta-relación*, as it narrates from the moment they embarked but gives more details about the wedding, and the celebrations, as Barahona was a witness of them. It ends with the newlywed kings going to Windsor Castle. The second one is Fray Bartolomé de Miranda's *Relación del suceso que tubo el principe de España Phelipe*, written in London, found in the Biblioteca del Palacio de Santa Cruz of Valladolid and published by José María Ruiz in 1979. The text focuses more on the religious controversy, so the events from the arrival to the wedding are explained briefly. Then, it continues with the kings' arrival to London and makes a defense of England's return to the Catholic faith, joining it with the arrival of Reginald Pole and continuing in time until approximately April 1555. It ends up with the execution of heretics as "a necessary justice" and the financing of two monasteries: San Francisco in Greenwich and a Dominican one.

Using these as a reference, as well as other archival sources, scholars have already researched some of the most important aspects of this journey. Pascual de Gayangos has written the most extensive study in his critical edition of Andrés Muñoz's *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra* and the first four above-mentioned *cartas-relaciones*. His declared aim is to complement and clarify different passages and "reach the truth of the event" (XIII). After a brief study about Andrés Muñoz—his office in the Household of the Infant Carlos as Usher of the Privy Chamber (*Portero de Cámara*), the possibility of him being from Zaragoza—, he suggests that the sources he used to complete his *relación* possibly came from some member of the House of Alba or from private letters that were printed and distributed at the time (V-IX). The letters are briefly described, and it is claimed that, although they are anonymous, they could be written by Don Pedro Enriquez (XV). From then on, Gayangos presents the pride the Spanish society at this period and the opinions

in England about the marriage (XVIII-XXI). He focuses on the figure of Prince Philip, in his submissive attitude about marriage and during the journey, which varies depending on the source (XXIII-XXVIII). He also shows the possible concerns about this union and the fear of treason the prince had (XXIII-XXV), the problems they encounter because of the marriage arrangements (XXII), and how the experience for both Spanish and English was unpleasant (XXVIII).

In 1979, a new relation on the event was published by José M. Ruiz. It was Fray Bartolome de Miranda's *relación*, found in the library of the College of Santa Cruz, Valladolid. In this study, Ruiz starts with the facts relating the jornada and the text's contents: the number of people that went, Philip's chamberlains, and how one of them (Rui Gómez de Silva) was in contact with Charles V's secretary (Francisco de Eraso) (77-79). Ruiz also writes about the first impressions de Silva had after the marriage and the way Prince Philip tried to manage the situation in the English Council by giving favors and pensions (80-82). He then goes on to describe the six main points covered in the document, which relate to the religious controversy and the different negotiations with Cardinal Reginald Pole to restore the Catholic faith in the realm (83-93). In the end, Ruiz proposed De Miranda's authorship for this *relación*, on the basis of the allusions to his presence or absence in the events and some traces of his philosophical views on justice and equity.

José Miguel Morales Folguera focuses his study "El Arte al Servicio del Poder y de la propaganda imperial" on the propagandistic and imperialist function the *relaciones* and art had during the journey, wedding, and entrance of the monarchs in London. He makes a summary of three *relaciones* to narrate the prior preparations for the journey (167-68), emphasizing how the description of the clothes, places, and interiors, as well as Antonis Mor's portraits were tools for imperial power (174-75). Folguera traces the departure from Corunna and the wedding in Winchester, where the number of relevant people invited is shown and how the decoration in the cathedral included, not only fine art, but tapestries sent by the Emperor's sister, that included elements of the conquest of Tunisia. Folguera summarizes one of the Italian *relaciones* Masiá talked about (183-88) and shows how every detail was studied to decorate London for the newlywed monarchs' entrance. The ephemeral monuments and spectacles, using mythological figures like Hercules (184), two women representing Britannia and Hispania (185), and genealogical

trees showing the common roots for both kings (187-88), were all used to reinforce the union. It ends with a brief description of the three main terms of the marriage agreement.

José Martínez Millán and Santiago Fernández Conti studied the *jornada* to show the evolution of Philip's Court and the implications around it. Their study starts with ideas about the rising of courts as groups of the privileged and starters of fashions, behaviors, ideologies, and symbols, "the essence of power" (LI). It continues with the changes under Charles V and the grounding of Philip's Household on Erasmus humanism (LII-IV). He ended up in 1554 with two houses: the Castilian and the Burgundian. Both were taken to the *jornada* to England, something that benefited him in England, because "they possessed a common inheritance in Burgundian court culture, its etiquette and the chivalric ideals inspired by romance literature" (Samson, "A Fine Romance" 77).

José Martínez Millán, for his part, in his multivolume work *La Corte de Carlos V*, included a section on "La proyección del Príncipe Felipe." The articles there included show the evolution of Philip's Household and goes in-depth on the modifications inside the Castilian House for the English journey. Details are given of his first regency and travel to the Netherlands as Charles V intended him to get closer to his possible future subjects (209-10). Then, his return to Spain and his second regency follow. Prince Philip started introducing his people to have total control and gaining administrative power over the Castilian servants of his father (250-52). From then on, the problems and modifications inside the *Casas* are shown while describing the English journey and wedding (252-56). The problem with officials and servants continued with their arrival to England, as Mary expected that the retinue would be small and so she created an English one for him with more than 300 people (257). This clash would produce bad blood between the Spaniards and the English. The section finishes with the new preparation for the next journey of Prince Philip to the Netherlands as well as his coronation as King Philip II.

María José Bartolomeo Masiá wrote a study called "Relaciones de sucesos italianas sobre la boda de Felipe II con María Tudor," about some Italian *relaciones* of the journey and wedding of Prince Philip and Mary I. Masiá gives historical background and how important this marriage was socially, politically, and historically speaking which is why she mentions the importance of these *relaciones* as propagandistic media, to show the many benefits the alliance produced, as well as the importance of Prince Philip going

to England with the most splendor and magnificence so he could not be underestimated for being only a Prince and future Consort king (8-9). After this, a description of Muñoz's *relación* and five of the Italian *relaciones* is given, describing in depth the last Italian narration (9-16) with which Masiá reflects the propagandistic and social interest this event arisen and its religious dimension.

All things considered, in what follows an attempt to reconstruct Philip's journey to England will be made, using the Spanish *relaciones* as a main source. It is hoped that with it a reflection on the degree of propaganda that is present in their narratives will be in the end possible.

Prince Philip of Spain's journey to England according to the Spanish *relaciones*

Prince Philip's *jornada* to England can be divided into three parts. The first part starts with the first news about the marriage received on 15 September 1553 and deals with the preparations for the journey. The second part begins with his departure from Valladolid to Alcántara on 14 May 1554, travel to Tordesillas and Benavente, and from there to Corunna, where he arrives on 27 June. The third and last part tells how Prince Philip set sail to England on 13 July, arrived and disembarked at Southampton, to arrive in Winchester on the 23rd and celebrate there his wedding to Mary I on 25 July 1554. The only *relación* that narrates the preparation is Muñoz's; Muñoz's, Barahona's, De Miranda's and the three newsletters mentioned recount the journey from the sailing until the arrival in England.

Part I: Before the journey

Muñoz's narrative starts with the arrival of news about the future marriage. He records that Charles V sent Don Diego de Acevedo from the Netherlands with the agreed proposal (*despacho*) for the marriage of Principe Philip with the Queen of England. On 15 September 1553, he arrived at Valladolid, where he was received by the Infant Carlos, as Prince Philip was recreating in Aranjuez. It was on the following day that Acevedo went to Aranjuez, where he was received by Prince Philip and his gentlemen and presented the *recaudo*.

Muñoz expresses the joy and happiness with which Prince Philip and his gentlemen of the Chamber received the document, “[...] mostrando graciosamente muy gran alegría y regocijo [...],” and that he considered the marriage would be truly glorious and triumphant, “[...] muy vero glorioso y triunfante [...]” (2). This is not what his private letters to his father show, as the idea of getting married to Mary was not something pleasurable for Prince Philip but that he would accept it as a matter of obedience: “[...] as your most obedient son, my wishes are the same as yours, especially in a matter of such importance [...]” (Parker 43). Therefore, after Philip declared that the news should remain in secret for some days, Muñoz highlights the political and religious importance of the union for Spain, as it would mean the restoration of the Catholic faith in England: “[...] restauración del Reino inglés á nuestro Sancta Fe Católica [...],” and the peace and

good between Spain and France, whose problems are unfounded: “[...] sin ningun justo fundamento [...]” (2).

Muñoz’s narrative continues with the preparations of the *jornada*. Prince Philip ordered to hastily prepare the most principal and necessary things: “[...] con toda la brevedad [...] aparejar las cosas más necesarias y principales [...]” (Muñoz 2). He commanded his High Stewart (*mayordomo mayor*) Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, to get prepared and arrange the Household (*Casa*) for the trip. In front of the officers, the Duke appealed to the obligation the other *mayordomos* had to serve his Highness by land and sea, in all nations: “[...] de servirle por tierra y mar por sus grandes virtudes [...] mas todas las naciones del mundo [...] le debe dominio y subjecion [...]” (3). He next registers the generous choice Prince Philip gave them: if they did not want to go, they were not obliged and there would not be consequences; for those who would be willing to go, expense allowances (*ayudas de costas*) and benefits (*mercedes*) would be given to afford the journey. These actions are described as powerful and humble, as well as those of the servants: according to Muñoz, most of them accepted to follow the Prince to England, without hesitating, as they had done in Germany and the Netherlands (5). Muñoz goes on with a list of other of the Prince’s acts of generosity. Asking his father to leave behind the members of the Spanish Guard that were invalid, giving economical help to the widows and orphans, as well as putting under his protection the children of the parents that would go with him to England: the sons would be educated in Alcalá and the daughters in monasteries; if they got married, he would give them whatever was needed: “[...] lo que fuere servido” (6-9).

Fifteen days before Prince Philip parted, around 15-16 May 1554, he held two meetings with his royal council (Muñoz 9). These negotiations, as Millán proposes (209), probably were about who was going to be the regent ruler of Castile during his absence, which, as we will see, will be his sister Joanna of Austria. Then, the news of the English ambassadors’ arrival to Laredo came (after having waited for over a month). They intended to inform Prince Philip of the news in England, how, by the Prince’s wishes, Count d’Egmont (“Count of Agamon”), who had gone to England to ask for Mary’s hand in his representation, had fulfilled his task: he said he took the Queen’s hands (“[...] tomó las manos [...],” 10). Prince Philip, wishing to please them, ordered one of his stewards, Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, to go and receive them.

Padilla left on 26 February 1554 and Prince Philip started to prepare tournaments, cane games, bullfights, etc., to welcome them in Valladolid, so that they would be entertained and see the greatness of Spain: “[...] para que se holgasen como para que viesen las grandezas de España [...]” (Muñoz 10-11). But suddenly, the news of the death of Don Juan Manuel, Prince of Portugal and spouse of Philip’s sister, arrived and there was great sadness at court (12). All the celebrations and parties prepared were canceled and Prince Philip ordered Padilla to return. As Loades explains, “nobody in England (or the Low Countries) knew that” (488) and there was unrest as to when the marriage was to be celebrated. Nevertheless, Muñoz says that after some days the Prince commanded the Marques of the Navas to go as his ambassador to England with very valuable jewels for the Queen: “[...] con las joyas de muy estimable valor para la Serenísima Reina Doña María [...]” (12): a diamond in the form of a rose, a diamond choker, a pendant pearl, and many other jewels, gems, pearls in rings. Jewels, fabrics, and brocades were also sent for Mary’s court ladies.

A few days later, the Armory (*armería*), jewels and clothing (*recámara*), and the Stables (*caballerizas*) were sent to the seaport of Corunna, where Prince Philip was to embark (Muñoz 14). Muñoz shows their majesty and splendor, by describing the beauty of the weapons, harnesses (all decorated with gold and other gemstones), tilled in the Moorish fashion, “[...] á la morisca [...]” (14), and in the Spanish style, with fine silks and colors, silver, and gold. Two silver table services, and a golden one, horses (more than eighty horses drawn by the leash, more than fifty quarter horses (*cuartagos*) and *caballos saltadores*) are also mentioned and the money these costed as “there being no power to explain”: “[...] no hay poder para explicallo [...]” (14).

Muñoz describes the clothes Prince Philip brought with him such as his wedding suit as well as those of the lords and gentlemen, and the days he would be in the country. The clothes of the noblemen are described too, those of the Admiral of Castile, the Marques of the Valle, the Duke and Duchess of Alba, the Duque of Medinaceli, the Marques of Péscara, Count d’Egmond, the Count of Saldaña, the Count of Feria, etc. (Muñoz 15-23). His intention is that the ladies and squires relish with the delicacy and beauty of the brocades: “[...] las damas y galanes [...] se huelguen dé ver las delicadezas y hermosura de vestidos bordados que S. A. lleva para la noche del desposorio y otros días” (15).

To arrange his House (a combination of the Castilian and Burgundian *Casas*), Prince Philip gave their livery (*librea*) and badge (*divisa*) to more than five hundred servants, including those of the three Guards and each lord give liveries to their servants and footmen too (24-27). The Spanish Guard had one hundred halberdiers (*alabarderos*) whose Captain was the Count of Feria and their Lieutenant, Hernando de Sayavedra. The German Guard had one hundred halberdiers too, with the same badge and livery, and was commanded by Captain Cristofao. The mounted Archers also had one hundred German halberdiers who were under the Count of Horno and his Lieutenant Monsieur Turlon. The three guards wore the same badges and liveries in the colors of Prince Philip's badges: "[...] son tres de la color de la divisa de S.A., que es blanco y encarnada y amarillo" (24).

According to Muñoz, seven stewards were taken in the journey: the Duque of Alba, High Steward (*mayordomo mayor*), the Count of Olivares, the Marques of the Navas, Don Diego de Acevedo, Don Pedro de Córdoba, Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, and "Caballero Borgoñan" (27). The gentlemen of the chamber (*camareros*) were Ruiz Gomez de Silva, the Marques of Borgues, Borgoñan, Don Iuan de Benavides, Don Iuan de Acuña, and Don Fadrique Enrique, of the house of Alba; the yeomen (*ayudas de cámara*) were Iuan de Ortega, Sanctoyo, Almendares, Ortiz, and two more of whom Muñoz does not give the names (27). There were also minstrels (*menestriles*), trumpets (*trompetas*), Spanish and Italian, and drums (*atabales*), as well as a dancing master (*maestro de danzar*) and sergeant at arms (*de armas*).

Millán lists the offices that belonged to the *Casa de Castilla* (254): in the Chamber, there were preachers (*predicadores*), one musician (*músico*), one palace porter (*portero de cadenas*), one harbinger (*apostentador*), one treasurer (*tesorero*), one Lord Lieutenant (*teniente de mayordomo mayor*), one master of the wardrobe (*guardarropa*), and physicians (*médicos*), among other officers.

The gentlemen of the bouche (*gentiles-hombres de la boca*), who serve to the prince the food during supper and dinner, were more than twenty, in Muñoz's account, and are named: the Count of Gelves, the Marques of Falces, Garcilaso, Don Pedro Portocarrero, among others. Within the waiting service (*Estado*), there was the Treasurer, the Gentleman Waiter (*mayordomo de estado*), and probably a Palace Harbinger (*apostentador de palacio*). The Stables included the Master of the Horse (*Caballerizo Mayor*) Don Antonio de Toledo and Lieutenant (*Teniente*) Don Diego de Córdoba, a

gentleman (*gentilhombre*), in addition to other officers like courier (*Correo*). Multiple offices cared of maintenance, for instance, two garnitors (*guarnicioneros*), two saddlers (*silleros*), blacksmiths (*herrerros*), muleteers (*acemilero mayor*) and his aid (*teniente*), and a farringer (*herrador*).

The Cellar (*Cava*) included the Sergeant (*sumiller*) and the *fiambbrero* (it included two yeomen (*ayudas*), an usher (*portero*) and a *sota-ayuda*, as in the following offices. Then we have the Bakehouse (*Panetería*) which had the same offices as the Cellar, except for the usher. The Chandry (*Cerería*) includes the *cerero mayor* with its helps. The Kitchen (*Cocina*) has the *cuir*, cook (*cocinero mayor*), four grooms (*mozos de la cocina*), usher (*portero*), sergeant of the acatry (*despensero*), the food bearer (*huxer de vianda*) and the buyer (*comprador*). Additional offices were the saucier (*salsier*), aided by two yeomen (*ayudas*) and one groom (*sota-ayuda*), an arras worker (*tapicero mayor*), also aided by yeomen and bougier (*comprador de leña*), one apothecary (*boticario*), his yeoman (*ayuda*) and groom (*sota-ayuda*).

All this relation of offices, Muñoz concludes, is given so that the power and imperial appearance of the prince can be seen and known: “cuánto es el poder y grandeza de nuestro Príncipe y Señor,” to whom, for his faith and humility and liberality, the nations of the world should be subject to: “á quien, por su fe y humildad y liberalidad, las naciones del mundo de le han de subjectar” (31).

Part II: The *jornada* to Corunna

According to Muñoz, when Prince Philip left Valladolid on 14 May of 1554 (Easter's eve), the gentlemen of the Prince's Chamber (*Cámara*) were already in Corunna waiting (31). The prince had set out to meet his sister in Alcántara (Cáceres), Joanna, who was on her way to Castile from Portugal. They met in a postal station (*posta*) where he received her in her mourning dress: “[...] la recibió allí muy cubierta de luto [...]” (Muñoz 32). Prince Philip's sadness to see his sister mourning and covered in tears was palpable and he consoled her during their time together. This meeting's reasons were to give Joanna instructions for her regency in Castile in his absence, as Parker says (45). And, probably unknown to Muñoz, a confidential task Charles V has sent Philip to choose his retirement home. Prince Philip had surveyed those parts and “recommended Yuste, in the foothills of the Sierra de Gredos in Extremadura, site of a convent [...] whose dedication to prayer

[...] had appealed [...] Spain's royal family who wanted to retire from the world" (Parker 45).

For five days, Joanna and Philip journeyed north together, until they separated at Abadía in Cáceres, the Duke of Alba's fortress. While Joanna went to Valladolid, Prince Philip started his journey to Corunna. He headed toward Benavente, where the Infant Carlos waited for him since around 30 May, while he spent some leisure time (33-41). During the way, Prince Philip stopped over at Tordesillas to visit his grandmother Queen Juana and bid her farewell (32), and on 3 June, around 10 am, he arrived at Benavente.

Philip's retinue was seen coming in all diligence in a dust cloud (Muñoz 42). He entered through the main gate where the Count of Benavente was waiting and, when the prince got off his horse, the Count kissed his hand and gave him the key of the fortress (42), inclining his head as a token of gratitude: "Y el Príncipe, sonriéndose, bajó un poco la cabeza como que se lo agradecía y recibía en señalado servicio [...]" (42). Then, he walked in with the Marques of Pescara, the Duke of Sea, Count d'Egmond (*Agamon*), and other gentlemen and servants. The prince was taken to the garden of the fortress of La Mota, where he was welcomed with trumpets and drums, artillery salutes, and the minstrels' music. He was later directed to his chamber with a richly ornamented bed and beautiful carpets in golden colors (42-43), where he lunched and rested for the rest of the day.

They stayed in Benavente for six days. Around 4 June, Prince Philip went with his son to La Mota's Garden, where there were multiple celebrations with bullfights, lanced bulls (*lanceados*), and fireworks (*cohetes*) (Muñoz 43), as on the following day. The Prince and the Infant were on a stage, richly decorated. To the delight of the Prince and Infant and the people, six bulls were lanced and over 1500 fireworks were lit (43). On the following day, they were pleased with another bullfight in the public square, with five "extremely good" bulls. That day, Philip and his son also went to the house of Pero Hernandez to celebrate his son's christening (44).

The recreations in Benavente lasted until the last day of their stay. On Sunday, 8 June, Prince Philip and the Infant Carlos, with their lords and gentlemen, went to the woods to hunt game, while the Count of Benavente ordered that a fence was put up in the courtyard for the evening chivalry and pageantry spectacles (Muñoz 44). The stage where Philip was to sit was described by Muñoz in detail, covered in tapestries, fabrics, and

furniture. Forty large candles were burning above, with torches at the sides. They watched a parade of knights with liveries, and badges, in shining armors (45), followed by chariots, mounted with fireworks. A grand pageant made up of historical and legendary scenes came next. There was, for instance, a cardboard elephant mounted by a young African boy, dressed just in a vest, carrying an arrow (45). Interestingly, one of the fire castles (*castillos*) displayed a galley (*galera*) with England's coat of arms, in anticipation of the future marriage of Prince Philip. The spectacles closed with a tournament on foot (*torneo de á pié*). At midnight, the courtyard was cleared, and the playwright Lope de Rueda with his company performed an *auto* of the Sacred Scriptures, which everyone enjoyed greatly. Everything ended with the minstrels' music and the sound of trumpets and drums (46-48).

The departure from Benavente took place on Monday, 9 June. At 2 pm, Prince Philip bid his son farewell, talking a bit before about the journey to England. The scene of the Prince consoling his son at his departure is highlighted by Muñoz: “[...] el Infante mostró gran sentimiento por la ausencia del Príncipe su padre, al cual, con sentidas y dulces palabras, siempre S.A. consoló, poniéndole grande esperanza de verle bien presto” (48). At sunset, Prince Philip and his retinue parted from Benavente, stopped overnight in an inn, and the next day (Tuesday, 10 June) stopped at Astorga for lunch, not staying for the night, missing some of the displays that the Marques of the place had prepared, but it seems that Philip's interest was now getting to Corunna as soon as possible.

In fact, Muñoz's narrative moves on to recount Prince Philip's entry in Santiago on Friday, 22 June, being received by the gentlemen of the city: “[...] representando sus personas singularmente aderezados; sin otra mucha infantería [...] los cuales hicieron una maravillosa salva de arcabucería [...]” (Muñoz 50). The prince progressed across the streets decorated with tapestries and across three triumphal arches, set up for the occasion. On arrival, the English Ambassadors, covered (*embozados*) (50), were introduced to His Highness, but let him retire to rest after the long journey. Muñoz explains Prince Philip stayed in the Hospital Real, a beautiful building with “[...] frescos y ricos aposentos” (50).

On 23 June, the Ambassadors went to the palace where the lords and gentlemen were accompanying His highness. They were received by Prince Philip in a decorated big chamber. When they approached the prince, they uncovered and kneeled in front of him,

who also uncovered: “[...] Se humillaron [...] muy cortesmente [...] Á los cuales S.A. los recibió muy benigna y graciosamente, con la gorra en la mano” (Muñoz 50-51). The eldest one, who was said to be “so very Christian” (“muy cristianísimo” 51), brought the marriage capitulations that the prince should ward, accept, and implement to be crowned King of England. At this point, Muñoz clarifies that, as many readers would ignore, when a ruler enters to govern a kingdom, he must sign and ward the arrangements the kingdom asks him, just as Prince Philip did: “[...] cuando un nuevo reino entra á [...] reinar el tal príncipe o rey [...] es dado concede y guardar las capitulaciones que el reino le pidiere [...]” (51). The Ambassadors, being very happy about the prince’s acceptance, kissed his hands and started to say in their language that they were very pleased by his goodness, greatness, and frankness: “[...] se holgaron mucho, [...] habian reconocido toda la bondad y grandeza del mundo en improviso por bueno [...] sin haber ningun engaño ni malicia, ni otra manera de cumplimiento ni interés que á ello les moviese” (Muñoz 51-52).

On St John’s feast (24 June), the Ambassadors, accompanied by twenty richly dressed gentlemen of the chamber, went to the palace to accompany Prince Philip to Santiago Cathedral. Muñoz narrates that the mass was given by the principal Cardinal, with instrumental music and choir voices, in a most divine way (52). This is said to have impressed the Ambassadors deeply by the cult’s excellence and greatness and the divine office, generating a devotion that Muñoz says will be of much use from then on: “movido[s] á gran devoción [...] la cual Nuestro Señor sea servido de se lo llevar Adelante, pues tanto lo han menester” (52). On this same day, Prince Philip gave to one of the ambassadors a long, precious gold piece, worked with Roman and grotesque decorations (52), said to have cost six thousand *ducados*. Before leaving for Corunna, Prince Philip liberated prisoners (52-53).

On the next Monday, 25 June, Prince Philip set off to their next station in Corunna which took a three-day journey, as it was at ten leagues, about 70 km. On Wednesday 27 June, at 8 a.m., Prince Philip arrived in the city. He was received by fourteen local councilors (*regidores*), described as wearing their protocol suits of purple velvet and gold rods (Muñoz 53). The Prince and the Mayor rode through the streets, followed by the others. The streets were decorated on both sides with tapestries and a triumph arch with war images and mythological creatures like nymphs, which one had the words written: “No basta fuerza ni maña / Contra el Príncipe de España”: “Force and cunning are not

enough / against the Prince of Spain” (S. Hume 102). Hercules was represented too, who was said to have ruled over Hispania before Christ’s birth, just like the image of Caco, a Celtiberian king, and a giant called Gideon, who was believed to have been king of Extremadura and other provinces (54). This arch led into the monastery of San Francisco, where the friars went on procession singing *Te Deum laudamus*, receiving Prince Philip with solemnity and pomp (54).

This is how Prince Philip and his retinue went to the harbor to see the Armada vessels. After describing the attire of the horsemen and their beauty, Muñoz describes the presence of six hundred Guipuzcuan spears, drums, and fifes playing gloriously (54-55). The army threw fireworks (*castillos*) and made salutes that produced both fear and admiration, making houses “trembled” with the sound, as if the army was approaching the land (Muñoz 55). He explains that behind these vessels, nine *naos* with 3500 soldiers in them made their artillery salutes too, just like the infantry did with their harquebuses. When the display was over, on retiring to the palace, Prince Philip saw some fishermen pulling out the catch of the day.

The following day, Thursday, 28 June, Prince Philip decided to go and see the *nao* in which he was going to travel to England, commanded by Martín de Bretandona. Muñoz describes its beautiful decorations (56-57) and its three hundred seamen crew. Then, they went to see the one in which the Ambassadors were going to go, and during this tour, the *nao* in which the Marqués de las Navas went to England arrived. He had gone to carry Prince Philip’s jewels to Mary I, who was waiting in Winchester with 2000 horses as they have thought Prince Philip and his retinue would not embark any. He told the prince that the Queen had received them lovingly, as well as the jewels. With this news, he returned with the Ambassadors and his gentlemen of the chamber to take care of different businesses. The days in Corunna went by as different amusements like hunting were prepared (57-59).

When the time approached, he ordered everything to be set, commanding the kings of arms (*reyes de armas*) to register everyone before embarking. The fleet going to England was formed of one hundred *naos* and fifty *zabras* with twelve thousand soldiers aboard. It may be estimated that there were more than 300 servants, without including those serving the lords. During this preparation, Prince Philip gave *mercedes* and *ayudas*, and Muñoz illustrates this by saying that the Prince gave help and comfort to everyone

by using his royal magnificence, as it was used by Alexandre of Macedonia and Saint Gregory, like him, wishing to win the Kingdom Heaven more than being surrounded by vanities in this vale of tears: “deseando más ganar el reino del cielo [...] que el señalarse con vanidades en este mísero valle de lágrimas [...]” (59-61).

On Thursday, 12 July, at 11 a.m., Prince Philip embarked in his *nao* to spend the night and his men were distributed among the other embarkations. The following day, on Friday, 13 July, at 3 pm, they set sail and parted to England, leaving behind twenty *naos*, four thousand men, and the infantry (Muñoz 61-64).

Part III: The journey across England and the wedding

The sea travel took six days. De Miranda in his *relación* describes it as without any storm and with favorable wind: “[...] nunca [...] se tubo tempestad alguna [...] mas siempre traxo viento a popa y con bonança” (93). Barahona also shows the good weather they had during the first three days, from Friday 13 to Sunday 15 July (564). On Monday, they could even spot French land and people (*Carta I* 88); on Tuesday, they had their first sight of England, which caused joy among the crew; and on Wednesday they saw the English and the Flemish fleet of around forty vessels (*naos*) (*Carta I* 88) and saluted them with fireworks (*castillos*). On 19 July, they sailed past Needles’ castle (“las Agujas”) and took harbor between Southampton (“Antona”) and the Isle of Wight (“isla de Huis”), where a great artillery salute was fired (*Carta I* 88). It was easy and faster than expected and Prince Philip stayed onboard overnight.

The following morning, 20 July, eight English noblemen, including Admiral Lord William Howard of Effingham —with a joyful and affective attitude towards Philip—, came on a barge (*batel*) and begged the prince (“[...] le suplicaron [...]”) to embark with them in secret, taking a few men of his trust, perhaps to prevent any dangers and not to alarm his fleet. The prince showed trust and much affection (“[...] mucho amor [...]”) toward them, which was received with satisfaction by the English (Barahona 566). After lunch, he embarked on the barge with the Duke of Alba, the Count of Feria, Gutierrez Lopez de Padilla, Don Diego de Acevedo, and the Count d’Egmon, among others (Muñoz 106). Once on land, the Chief Steward, the Earl of Arundel, came to receive them, sent by the Queen with her Master of the Horse, Sir Anthony Browne (Himsworth 15), the Lord Chamberlain and other gentlemen. An English retinue of three hundred people was waiting for the prince (Millán 257) and the Spanish and the English servants saw

themselves in a “cold war” on who should serve the prince. The English would do it in the end. Prince Philip tried to handle this with care and that all of them should “get mixed and [...] serve together” (Millán 257).

Then, the English High Steward invested Prince Philip as Knight of the Order of the Garter, putting on him a golden chain with a rose of the Order of Saint George (“una muy hermosa cadena de oro al cuello con la Orden de Sant Iorge, que es una rosa”), and on his left leg, a golden ribbon with a buckle, called Garter: “en la pierna izquierda, debaxo de la rodilla, una cinta de oro con su hevilleta á manera de senoñil, que llaman la Jarretiera [...]” (Muñoz 65). All the Kings of England must be members of this order, Muñoz reminds the reader (66). Immediately afterwards, riding a white hackney horse, the prince was directed to a church by Sir Anthony Browne, so that he could give thanks for the untroubled sea journey. Later, in the palace, he was welcome by different authorities and Prince Philip gave “Milor Ullense” (Sir John Williams) (Himsworth 96), the principal of the kingdom, the rod of Chamberlain (“el bastón de camarero mayor,” Barahona 567) (Himsworth 96). In the end, the Spaniards and the English dined in public, served by the English House dressed in the Burgundian code.

Saturday, 21 July, was a rainy day. Nonetheless, Prince Philip went to mass to a little church near the palace: “[...] á una pequeña iglesia frontera de palacio [...]” and different lords came to kiss his hands (*Carta 1* 89). Also on this day, Count d’Egmon was sent to see to ride two leagues to see the Queen and returned with a diamond ring for the prince, carried by the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner (89). On the following day, it was Rui Gómez who visited the Queen and gave her a gift ring, that was received with great joy, “[...] muy bien regocijado” (91), and the Queen’s Council went along to kiss Philip’s hand, soon after to mass in the Cathedral (*Iglesia Mayor*). Prince Philip dined in public, again served by the English House, although it was the Duke of Alba who had the privilege of handing the prince his napkin (*servilleta*) (91). In the afternoon, he dined in public, and the Queen sent six quarter-horses (*cuartagos*).

Prince Philip and his retinue stayed in Southampton until 23 Monday, from where they headed for Winchester, escorted by the Queen’s guard: three thousand horses, a large guard of cavalry (including three hundred archers), and the servants (Muñoz 67-68). Six principal knights of the realms went out to meet Prince Philip on the road, each bringing over two hundred horses (Barahona 568). With great pomp, just before entering

Winchester, he got dressed for the occasion in an abbey on the way (Muñoz 68). Ten pages (*pajes*) went before him as they progressed toward Winchester Cathedral. There, the Bishop and other five bishops were waiting, a group of churchmen were singing the *Te Deum laudamus* and Philip was guided to the High Altar, where he said his prayers and received the bishop's blessing (Barahona 568).

Prince Philip rested in the closet that had been prepared for him near the cloister, as Queen Mary did not want them to be under the same roof until the wedding was celebrated. Around 10 p.m., the English Steward and the Lord Chamberlain informed the prince that the Queen was waiting and that he should go with a few men of trust in secret. Prince Philip took with him thirteen of his noblemen and four or five English lords. They arrived at the gardens, which were very beautiful (Muñoz 70), and after a small walk, they entered by “[...] una puerta falsa [...]” and ascended by a winding stairway to a hall (Barahona 568).

When they entered the room, Queen Mary was wearing a long piece of black velvet with pieces of gold and precious stones, accompanied by the Bishop of Winchester, four or five principal lords, five ladies, and two gentlemen (Muñoz 70). The first one to enter was Count d’Egmon and, after he spoke to her, Prince Philip. The Queen kissed Prince Philip’s hand and he, following the English tradition, according to Muñoz (70-1), kissed her in the mouth. They held hands, sat, and conversed for a long time; the Queen spoke French and Philip spoke Spanish (Muñoz 71; Barahona 568). According to Barahona, Mary received Prince Philip with delight, and he behaved very graciously (568-69). Their manners are highlighted by Muñoz as well (70-71), as if to present a “romance” that would strengthen the arranged marriage.

Later, Prince Philip rose and asked the Queen to lend her hand to the Spanish gentlemen and she is described as giving it lovingly (“amorosamente”) (Muñoz 71). Correspondingly, Prince Philip talked to Mary’s ladies. Before leaving, the Queen asked him to stay and talk a little longer, which Muñoz interprets as an indication of her content at his worth and bravery: “[...] [E]lla se debió de contentar harto d’él y le pareció bien cuan valeroso es” (Muñoz 71). Their farewell is described too. Before retiring, Prince Philip asked the Queen how to say “buenas noches” in English. He had to be told several times, until he was able to say those words to her and the ladies and then leave.

On the following day, 24 July, at 3 pm, the prince, richly dressed, went to see the Queen in public (Muñoz 72). There was music in the great hall. Philip was accompanied by both the Spanish and English court and received by many English knights and ladies, also greatly dressed (Barahona 569). The Queen received him with several lords and two kings of arms before her, as well as over fifty ladies behind. They greeted each other and went to a chamber to spend some time of good courtesy and conversation: “un rato de buena gracia y conversación” (*Carta 1* 92). Then, Prince Philip went to vespers, which are described to be very solemnly done and, in the meantime, the regent (*regente*) Figueroa arrived with the imperial privilege with which Charles V gave his son Philip the kingdom of Naples, which was done secretly and would be only publicly announced on the day of the wedding (Muñoz 72). Charles’ intentions were not naïve. Ruiz explains this caused great content among the noble English men (80-81), as the Queen was not simply marrying the Prince of Spain, but also the King of Naples.

In the meantime, the Spaniards are observing everything around them, like the way the women dressed, the high expenses that the palace must have on account of the number of lords and servants, as well as how much beer the English drink, more than the amount of water carried by the river Pisuerga: “[...] porque hay mucha cerveza se bebe más que lleva [agua] el río de Valladolid en verano.” (*Carta 2* 107). They were not always content with everything. They complained that they showed little hospitality towards the Duchess of Alba and towards them in general, whom they thought the English could stand any better than the devil (“[...] no nos pueden ver á los españoles más que al Diablo”) and so they were robbed in the towns and stripped and beaten on the way (“[...] Róbanos en poblado, y en camino [...] á más de cincuenta españoles los despojaron y apalearon [...]” (108). Their explanation was that they lacked the Catholic faith. Despite having praised the love and marriage of their couple, they could not hide their concern that the match will be unfortunate, if the Queen did not bear any child: “[...] ha sido bien [poco] acertado si esta señora Reyna no pare [...]” (108) and their dislike that Prince Philip, despite being King, was not treated as such. All this, added to the illnesses they were having, made them yearn much to get away from so barbarous people: “[...] nosotros nos holgáramos infinito por vernos fuera [de tierra] de gente tan bárbara” (*Carta 3* 120). Despite all this, the wedding was to be.

Wednesday, 25 July 1554, being the feast of St. James, was the day of the wedding. Prince Philip had ordered the ambassadors, accompanied by many lords, knights, and gentlemen, to go to his lodgings and escort him towards the church (Barahona 569-70). Prince Philip wore clothes that had been presented to him by Queen Mary the night before, wonderfully embroidered (“maravillosamente bordados”), and an excellent collar of very precious stones: “[...] con un collar muy excelente de piedras muy valerosas [...]” (Muñoz 73), which Samson says is the same piece of jewelry he received when he was invested in the Order of the Garter (“Changing Places” 764).

When they arrived at the cathedral, which Barahona comments was beautifully decorated with arras, banners, and pendants (570), Prince Philip placed himself in the chair of the stage where, with his retinue, he waited for the Queen. Mary I was escorted by her chief lords and, as Prince Philip was informed she was approaching, he left the place he was waiting in and bowed, as well as greeted the noblewomen and ladies who were with her. After having greeted each other, the Queen went to her chair that was on the left and took seat (570). The Queen was wearing a black velvet *galdrés* (from Geldern) embroidered with gold and many precious stones, and a necklace with two diamonds: one, one of the gifts she had received from Prince Philip in June (Samson, “Changing Places” 764); the other, a diamond mounted on a setting in the form of a rose, with a huge pearl hanging down onto the chest (Muñoz 73-74).

Before the Bishop started the ceremony, the regent Figueroa took a step forward with a charter in his hand, saying the Emperor renounced the kingdom of Naples in favor of his son, making him king and ruler of this place, to which Prince Philip accepted with great contentment: “con mucho contentamiento” (Barahona 571). After this proclamation, which has a great relevance and it was made public just before the ceremony, the Bishop started the ceremony, “[...] con las mismas preguntas y solemnidad que hacen en España, habiéndose leído la dispensacion [papal] delante de dos ó tres personas secreto” (571), that is, “with the same questions and solemnity as in Spain, having read the [Papal] dispensation before two or three persons privately” (Himsworth 98).

When the mass and the wedding ceremony were over, everyone walked toward the Sanctuary, knelt before the High Altar (*Altar mayor*), and prayed. Then, they moved to their curtains (The Prince at the right and the Queen at the left) and were given the

main mass and blessing. After that, the Peace was offered, and the bishop kissed the Queen on the cheek and Prince Philip kissed the Queen. A slice of bread and wine were given at the end (571).

Prince Philip and Mary, now husband and wife, went to the palace where the wedding reception and banquet were prepared. Barahona explains how the hall was decorated and how the tables were set (572), with a great variety of victuals, which appeared to be very good and well served: “[...] la comida servida de grandes diversidades de manjares, donde pareció ser muy buena y bien servida [...]” (Muñoz 75), all with great ceremony and music to make the moment more enjoyable. One thing that is remarked is that everything is served by Englishmen and the Queen and the bishops were served the food before Prince Philip as he was not still coronated king of England (75).

The Spanish lords danced with the English ladies, each in their own style, and the Prince and Queen danced the allemande (*sendas alemanas*), which gave great pleasure to everyone, in Muñoz’s narrative (76). The celebrations finished late at night after which, the newlywed couple went to their apartments and, as the author of the first newsletter says: “[...] Lo de la noche ellos se lo saben. Á darnos un hijo se va todo el bien que se pretende” (97), that is to say: “About the night they know. Giving us a child takes all the good that is sought.”

On the next day, the Queen did not appear publicly as it is *propter honestitatem* (Barahona 573), while the prince attended mass in a chapel inside his palace (*Carta 1* 96). The first letter author says on that day De Miranda officed mass in the church and closes his narrative with a focus on the religious dimension of the royal union: that there was hope that the Christianity and the goodness of the Queen and her constant prayers would have their part in that kingdom that would be what it was like with respect to Christianity and obedience to the Catholic Church: “Esperanza se tiene que la cristiandad y bondad de la Reina y sus continuas oraciones han de ser parte para que este reino sea el que fué en cristiandad y obediencia de la Iglesia Católica” (97).

Conclusion

This B.A. Thesis has reconstructed the *jornada* that Prince Philip of Spain made to England in order to marry Queen Mary I in 1554, by drawing on the different Spanish *relaciones de sucesos* written by Andrés Muñoz, Juan de Barahona, Fray Bartolomé de Miranda and the anonymous manuscript *carta-relaciones*. While doing so, it has shown and revealed the different attitudes these authors had around three elements presented in the *relaciones*: Prince Philip's portrayal, Queen Mary I's image, and the English people.

The chronological reconstruction of Prince Philip's *jornada* that these sources afford starts on 15 September 1553, with the arrival from Flanders of the news with the agreed proposal for the marriage between the Queen of England and the Prince of Spain. The first part of the account begins in May 1554, with Prince Philip's orders that all the necessary arrangements for the travel were made and his leaving Valladolid for Alcántara to meet his sister, the future Regent Queen of Castile during his absence. The second part narrates his travel to Tordesillas and the start of the journey to England through Benavente (where he stays for a few days and enjoys the recreations the Count has prepared) and to Santiago and Corunna, on 27 June, where he meets the English ambassadors, before departing. Prince Philip set sail on 13 July and arrived at Southampton in six days. They remained there before travelling to Winchester on the 23rd and stayed there until the meeting and wedding with Mary I was celebrated on 25 July 1554.

Muñoz's portrayal of Prince Philip shows two main aspects about him. One of them relates to the image of wealth as well as imperial force, combined with the virtues of a righteous ruler. This can be seen in the celebrations the prince ordered to prepare to show "the greatness of Spain" to the English ambassadors. Almost constantly Muñoz mentions the amount of money spent during the journey, the richly decorated buildings found, the clothes of the Court and Household officers, the jewels sent to the Queen and her ladies, and how he plans to use the wealth of the Habsburg family to benefit and impress the English. His idea of the prince's power is shown in the couplet "Force and cunning are not enough / against the Prince of Spain" (S. Hume 102), which is inscribed in the triumph arch in Corunna. Muñoz culminates this by comparing the Prince with Alexandre from Macedonia and with Saint Gregory, which relates to the other side he is interested in showing: Prince Philip as a humble, indulgent, and generous ruler and a

devoted Catholic. These traits can be seen in the choice the prince gave to his servants and officials of accompanying him or not on the journey, as well as in the allowances, benefits, and protection to old soldiers, widows, and children he gave. His humanity is highlighted deeply when recomforting his sister Joanna when meeting and when farewelling his son, the Infant Carlos, in Benavente. His humility is seen when receiving the keys of the city, making a bow with his head, and Philip's magnanimity toward his subjects, when liberating prisoners on his pass through Santiago.

In the case of Queen Mary's image, Muñoz always describes the wealth of the dresses and clothes she wore and her attitude toward the Prince. He portrays her as being very happy with his presence and his attitude. Her character and manners are described as submissive and naïve, being different from the knightly attitude of Prince Philip that seems to guide her. The description of the English people (ambassadors, ladies, noblemen) follows a similar pattern of showing a good and affective relationship between the two nations. Some examples of these can be seen in how the Ambassadors received the signed arrangements while in Spain, with happiness, how they were greatly moved by Prince Philip's confidence in them, and the good treatment they received from the Spanish lords, and their appreciation of the Catholic rites in Spain.

The author of the first newsletter (*Carta 1*) gives a more objective account of what happened during the journey across England, not reflecting much on the imperial image of the prince, just mentioning the beauty of his wedding clothes. However, he does include some critical comments regarding the English ladies: their "lack of beauty" and the descriptions of the type of clothes they wore. He articulates an opinion about Queen Mary in two instances: one by showing her true Catholic faith and kindness and the other on how they should thank God for such devoted Princess and Lady they now have. His opinions, although almost objective and much center on the journey itself, have a negative subtone related to the English' attitudes and behaviors.

The author of the second letter is much more direct. He glorifies the figures of Prince Philip and Queen Mary and their marriage, expressing the prince courteousness with her and the great match that they make. However, he cannot restrain himself from commenting on the Queen's ugliness, despite her virtuosity. Like the first letter, this source is dismissive with the way the English people dress, the lack of beauty of the ladies who, according to the author, will never arouse any emotion from the Spanish. He notes

the great expenditure that the Queen has in the palace because of the number of lords and noble people living there, each one having a personal service, and criticizes how it seems that the kingdom is dominated by the Council more than the Queen. His opinion about the English gets more direct and harsher, when speaking on their barbaric habits of drinking and eating, their lack of hospitality toward the Duchess of Alba, and all the Spanish lords and gentlemen. He even points that that they were robbed and assaulted, and the lack of Catholic faith of the English people, that the prince ordered them to suffer this in silence. These ideas culminate with the wish of the Spanish to leave England and never return. As it is possible to see, his ideas are much more critic, harsh and direct. He is not looking for diplomacy or a good understanding between people but seems to be directing his words to a strong Catholic public of the Counter-Reformation.

In the third letter, its author portrays the English people as enemies of the Spanish nation, recounting their presence there among murders, robberies, and assaults against the Spanish. He even mentions that they were among beasts and expresses the anger they have as the English do not treat Prince Philip as King although was then crowned. As in the case of the previous anonymous letters, this one records the lack of beauty found in the English ladies and in their dressing. The generosity and display of wealth of Prince Philip are remarked on by this author when referring to the amount of money and allowances he gave to the Queen and her Council. The description of the English as heretics and barbarians is used again too, much in line the newsletters 1 and 2.

Juan de Barahona's portrayal of Prince Philip is similar to Muñoz's. He portrays him with the same humility and humanity, like when he received the Englishmen that went to take him in a barge with great affection. Another example of princely modesty is seen when Prince Philip receives the Ambassadors of the King of Bohemia and the King of Romanos, as he uncovers like them, receiving them affectively, just like he did with the Ambassadors of Venice and Florence. The image of a powerful and wealthy ruler is shown by the size of the entourage and the money spent. He also focuses on the encounters of the Prince and the Queen, pausing to comment on her delight with his courtliness. Barahona shows different aspects of the clothes and decorations during the wedding which can mirror Muñoz's intention of showing greatness and richness.

De Miranda's *relación* is a particular case. It does not really focus on the aspects mentioned before as he only highlights the restoration in England of the Catholic faith

that would come after the wedding. The only aspect he mentions that connects with Prince Philip and Queen Mary is the great devotion and faith they have, again De Miranda's great interest.

Having shown this, it can be concluded that the most complete accounts from a historical point of view are Muñoz's and Barahona's. Their *relaciones* can be used as sources to reconstruct the main events, in contrast with other archival sources. Given the fact that they were printed and directed to a wider public, the image of Philip as powerful ruler and of the marriage as a convenient success for the Spanish Monarchy would be better propagated. They managed to create and reinforce the imperial image of the future king of Spain. They would also help to strengthen the union between Spain and England through the marriage. That is why Prince Philip and Queen Mary's interactions are portrayed through this romantic-chivalric-like atmosphere, as well as the way English noblemen and Spanish lords are presented to have a good relationship, helping to counterattack the bad propaganda and opinions that Gayangos explains were being distributed in England to motivate the hostility towards the Spanish (XX). In contrast, those *relaciones* like the second and third manuscript letters are clearly directed to a more private public, probably fierce Catholics and opponents to the English monarchs, and Muñoz's and Barahona's presentation of harmony and unity between the two kingdoms is shattered by the criticisms of the land and its people, referring to the Queen only as a mean to get an aim: restoring the Catholic faith in England. The figure of Prince Philip is neither reinforced nor glorified; we even can find a stroke of distress because of his orders to maintain a good attitude toward the English's attacks.

The marriage between Mary I and Prince Philip had their own opponents among the Spaniards, who would communicate freely on their discontent with the English nation, and thus need to be presented in front of the more general public as without the controversies and obstacles experienced under Henry VIII's rule.

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