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Ars Habsburgica

New Perspectives on Sixteenth-Century Art

edited by
FERNANDO CHECA &
MIGUEL ÁNGEL ZALAMA

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Cover illustration: *Honor* from the series *The Honors*, tapestry designed before 1520, woven between 1525 and 1532. Design attributed to Bernard van Orley. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, 2014 Benefit and Director's Funds, several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, Brooke Russell Astor Bequest, Ambassador and Mrs. W. L. Lyons Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Richard L. Chilton Jr., and Josephine Jackson Foundation Gifts, 2015. The work is under Public Domain.

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FERNANDO BOUZA

Habsburg Politics and Cultures in the Sixteenth Century

*The Cosmopolitan Iberian Experience of Empires and Kingdoms**

According to Donald R. Kelley, the Swiss scholar Christophe Milieu (†1570) made what is 'perhaps the most striking contribution to cultural and literary historiography in the Renaissance'.[1] In addition to being the first to use the term *historia literaturae*,[2] Milieu (also known as Christophorus Mylaeus) is remarkable because he argued that historical reason (*historica ratio*) was 'the best way to organize the "universe of things"'.[3]

To prove his point, after sketching out his ideas in 1548, Milieu expanded on them in *De scribenda universitatis rerum historia libri quinque*, five books on how to write the history of the universe of things, published in Basel in 1551. If his goal was to create a universal history,[4] it seems only fitting that the Swiss scholar dedicated his work to the Most Serene Princes Maximilian and Philip of Habsburg. The latter took the throne as Philip II (1527–1598), and the former became Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576); both were called to wield, or reclaim, universal power.[5]

* This work is part of the research conducted for the project PID2020-113906GB-Ioo [*Las prácticas culturales de las aristocracias ibéricas del siglo de oro: en los orígenes del cosmopolitismo altomoderno (siglos XVI-XVII)*], supported and funded by the Spanish government.

1 Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 154.

2 Donald R. Kelley, 'Writing Cultural History in Early Modern Europe: Christophe Milieu and his Project', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52:2 (1999), 342–365 (esp. 342).

3 Kelley, Faces, 154.

4 Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Topica universalis. Eine Modellgeschichte humanisticher und barocker Wissenschaft* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1983), 21–30.

5 Cristophe Milieu, *De scribenda universitatis rerum historia libri quinque* (Basil: Oporinus, 1551), '[Epistola] Serenissimis Principibus Philippo Hispaniarum atque Maximiliano Bohemiae Regi'.

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In 1564, Maximilian was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and, as *Kaiser*, became the highest-ranking civil authority in all of Christian Europe.[6] According to the political categories that applied, his universal superiority was derived from his status as the last surviving descendant of the Roman emperors by virtue of *translatio imperii*, the idea that 'the empire had been transferred from hand to hand and place to place', from the Roman Caesars of old to the Germanic Kaisers, 'and had therefore survived'.[7]

The 'Holy' aspect of his status reflected the fact that he claimed supreme power by virtue of being the active defender of Christendom from its enemies. The ever-suffering and stricken *Christianitas afflicta* was, in the confessional sixteenth century, facing the double threat of heretical schism and attack by forces of the Ottoman empire.[8]

For his part, from 1554–1555 Philip II gradually brought under his dominion different territories in Italy, Flanders, Burgundy, Spain and the Americas which were inherited from his father, Charles V (1500–1558). In 1531, Charles decided to reserve the imperial title for his brother Ferdinand I (1503–1564), thus dividing the extraordinary, accumulated possessions that the union between the Habsburgs and the Trastámaras of Castile and Aragon had placed in his hands as German emperor and Spanish king.

Maximilian and Philip were closely related on several counts. In addition to being cousins, they were brothers-in-law and in 1570 their dynastic ties were further reinforced by Philip's marriage to his niece, Archduchess Anna of Habsburg, the eldest daughter of Maximilian and Empress Maria Anna, Philip II's sister.

The famous saying 'Let others wage war, you, happy Austria, marry, | for Realms, which Mars gives to others, Venus bestows on you' recalls the great advantages that the House of Habsburg, or House of Austria as it was also known, obtained from several strategic marriages, including that of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy in 1477[9] and of the Archduke Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile in 1496.[10] However, as the case

6 Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999).

7 John G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Volume Three: The First Decline and Fall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 127.

8 Heinrich Lutz, *Christianitas afflicta. Europa, das Reich und die päpstliche Politik im Niedergang der Hegemonie Kaiser Karls V (1552-1556)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

9 H. G. Koenigsberger, *Mars and Venus: Warfare and International Relations of the Casa de Austria* (London: Spanish Embassy, 1995).

10 Xavier Gil, 'The shaping of the Iberian polities in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', in *The Iberian World 1450–1820*, eds. Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim and Antonio Feros (London/New York: Routledge, 2020), 7–33.

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of Philip II's childless union with his father's cousin Mary Tudor (1516–1558) proved, 'the magic formula' of Habsburg marital policy was not always successful;[11] and for all their strategic matchmaking, as Helmut G. Koenigsberger noted, the Habsburgs never forgot about war, conquest or domination.[12]

Marriage alliances were simply another tool in the hegemonic politics of every European dynasty. Consequently, inheritance was at the root of several dynastic successions that rocked the international stage, such as Henry of Bourbon's ascent to the French throne in 1589, or when a Stuart, James VI of Scotland, succeeded a Tudor, Elizabeth I, on the English throne. Another inheritance made Portugal part of Philip II's domains when Sebastian I of the House of Aviz died in 1578 at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir (Ksar-el-Kebir) in North Africa.

Philip II also thereby added Portugal's empire on the African coast, the routes and some coastal regions and islands of the Indian Ocean, and Brazil to the possessions he had inherited from his father Charles I as king of Spain, which had already been enlarged in different parts of the Americas and in the Philippines prior to 1580. Philip II was now ruler of a monarchy of unequivocally universal dimensions. Shortly after his proclamation by the *Estado da Índia* at Goa on 3 September 1581, the new king received a letter from a local prince who told him 'o seu nome se soa desdo nasente do sol athe omde se poem' [your name resounds from where the sun rises to where it sets].[13]

The decorative programme designed for the royal hall in Lisbon's Torreão do Paço visually evoked the universal dimensions of the global power that was placed in Philip II's hands in 1580. The new tower which the monarch added to the existing Portuguese royal palace was to be painted with frescoes showing 'un Hércules con su piel de león' and 'por el suello el mundo en pedaços [...] y en todas las superficies de los pedaços se pintarán mares y tierras y hércules encurvado juntando todos estos pedaços con galhardia' [a Hercules with his lion's skin (and) on the floor the world in pieces ... and on the surfaces of every piece painted seas and lands and Hercules bending down to gather all those pieces with gallant grace]. The meaning of this decoration was unmistakeable, for Hercules 'a de ser moço con poca barva y ruvia remendando la filosofomía [fisognomía] de su magestad' [must be a youth with a sparse blonde beard recalling the physiognomy of His Majesty].[14]

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11 Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), 188, quoted in Muldoon, Empire and Order, 180.

12 Koenigsberger, *Mars and Venus*.

13 Fernando Bouza, *Felipe II y el Portugal dos povos. Imágenes de esperanza y revuelta* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010), 46.

14 Bouza, *Felipe II*, 45.

Although he could not claim the supreme distinction of emperor, then held by his nephew Rudolf II (1552–1612), the Spanish and Portuguese Hercules could present himself as the true defender of a Christendom plagued by heretics and infidels from every part of the globe. He felt especially entitled to this role since, in his eyes, all emperors from Maximilian II onwards[15] had ceased to fulfil their preeminent duty of leading the church in its fight against Protestantism.

The aforementioned *translatio imperii* undoubtedly benefited the imperial branch of the House of Habsburg. There was also a *translatio fidei* and a *translatio scientiae*, the transfer of faith and knowledge across time and space, forever moving from east to west like the sun.[16] The global extension of his domains made Philip's monarchy a genuine empire.[17] Furthermore, according to the categories of the age, the dual condition of *translatio fidei* and *translatio scientiae* permitted Philip II to claim sovereignty over what Pablo Fernández Albaladejo called an 'empire *per se*', a reformulation of modern universal power.[18]

Philip II could boast of being not only a defender of the faith, like so many other European princes, but also the genuine executor of *translatio fidei* because he was exporting the true faith from Europe to the Indies.[19] He could also present himself as a protector of learning, a second Solomon who would build the library of El Escorial as a haven for errant books and codices from around the world.

The monastery of El Escorial near Madrid is the best evidence of the close connection between *translatio fidei* and *translatio scientiae*. Around 1590, the historian Luis Cabrera de Córdoba wrote in his poem *Laurentina* about the abundance of excellent books 'en todos los idiomas diferentes | así con arte como de vulgares' [in every different language | erudite and common alike] that had come to El Escorial 'de [*i.e.* desde] naciones diversas y de gentes' [from diverse nations and peoples] seeking the refuge that Philip II afforded, for 'que de ellas [naciones] se han venido aquí

15 Paula S. Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

16 Peter Burke, 'The Myth of 1453: Notes and Reflections', in *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte: Festschrift Hans Guggisberg*, ed. Michael Erbe (Mannheim: Palatium, 1996), 23–30.

17 Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Muldoon, *Empire and Order*; John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

18 Pablo Fernández Albaladejo, 'Imperio de por sí: la reformulación del poder universal en la temprana Edad Moderna', in *Fragmentos de Monarquía. Trabajos de historia política* (Madrid: Alianza, 1982), 168–183; Eva Botella-Ordinas, '"Exempt from time and from its fatal change": Spanish imperial ideology, 1450–1700', *Renaissance Studies*, 26–4 (2012), 580–604.

19 David A. Boruchof, 'New Spain, New England, and the New Jerusalem: The "Translation" of Empire, Faith, and Learning (*translatio imperii, fidei ac scientiae*) in the Colonial Mission Project', *Early American Literature*, 43–1 (2008), 5–34.

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huyendo | porque, como la fe, se iban perdiendo' [they have fled here from those nations | because, like faith, they were gradually being lost].[20]

In sixteenth-century Europe, all political power was closely bound up with religion. Ultimately, the strength of rulers and authorities was only legitimate if used to promote the salvation of their subjects' immortal souls. The confessional schism resulting from the Protestant and Catholic reformations only strengthened the bond between altars and thrones, between the sword and the Word.[21]

Spain succouring Religion, also known as 'Religion saved by Spain', the picture that Titian painted between 1572 and 1575 and now in the Museo del Prado, is a good example of the visual allegorical representation of Philip II as a militant defender of the faith. The painting's history is quite complex, but we know that Titian sent Maximilian II a painting with a similar composition which, though now lost, was recorded in a print made by Giulio Fontana in 1568. In that work, Religion was succoured not by the Spain of Philip II, but by the empire of Maximilian II.[22]

The image of a prince using his power to defend the faith was also popular in Protestant Europe. A good example is the print attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (*c.* 1520–*c.* 1587) that depicts Willem van Oranje (William of Orange) as Saint George, armed and on horseback over the United Provinces, defending a tormented woman from the dragon of Spanish tyranny. The woman is the personification of the Netherlands, and by her side we see the lamb of the Church of Christ ('De Kerke Christi').[23]

Philip II's Counter-Reformation confessionalisation did not mean that his relations with papal Rome were always excellent. In fact, both he and his father, Charles V, had complicated relationships with the supreme pontiffs. Occasionally their interests clashed with the pope's in power struggles on the Italian political stage, and they tried to divert a part of the lucrative income that clergymen received in Spanish territories to fill the royal coffers.

The curious rumour that neither the emperor nor his son was admitted to heaven when he died, in 1558 and 1598 respectively, is a telling reminder that their dealings with the Catholic Church were perplexing. According to the rumour, Charles was doomed to remain in purgatory for several years because he had been responsible for the Sack of Rome (1527)

20 Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Laurentina*, ed. Lucrecio Pérez Blanco (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ciudad de Dios, 1975).

21 Richard Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1993).

22 Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 186–190.

23 Daniel R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit: propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand [1566–1584]* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2003), 239 and 350.

Fig. 1.1. *Religion assisted by Spain* by Titian, 1572–1575. © Museo Nacional del Prado.

and because of his policy of selling lands that had been granted to religious military orders. Philip II was also apparently turned away from heaven's gates for a time because he had sold church assets in an attempt to bolster his floundering treasury in the 1570s, not to mention the fact that he had laid siege to Rome in the time of Paul IV.[24]

Despite these disputes, Spanish kings and queens had been known as Catholic monarchs since the days of Isabella and Ferdinand. The Holy Roman Empire had an evident confessional diversity after the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which sanctioned Lutheranism in those territories where the rulers chose to make it their official religion, and tolerated

24 Fernando Bouza, 'Felipe II sube a los cielos. Cartapacios, pliegos, papeles y visiones', in *Historia y perspectivas de investigación. Estudios en memoria del profesor Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez*, ed. Miguel Rodríguez Cancho (Mérida: ERE, 2002), 301–306.

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numerous Jewish communities.[25] By contrast, sixteenth-century Spain witnessed a progressive and painful process of religious homogenisation.

The country's Muslim population was forced to renounce its Islamic faith between 1502 (in Castile) and 1526 (in Aragon), although the forced conversion of the Moriscos did not prevent them from continuing to observe the tenets of Islam in secrecy or from maintaining their cultural customs. Spain only tolerated the presence of so-called *moros de paz* or 'Moors of peace', generally ambassadors or traders from the Barbary coast.[26] The Jews had already been expelled in 1492, but a small Jewish quarter survived in the North African city of Oran, where the so-called 'Jews of the king of Spain' lived.[27] The confessional closing of ranks around Roman Catholicism and obedience to one sovereign ruler were the two things that Philip II's subjects had in common. The many and varied territories under his power constituted a composite monarchy,[28] referred to as the Spanish monarchy or, after 1580, the Spanish-Portuguese monarchy. A product of inheritance, conquest and negotiation, this monarchy was an aggregate of territories that maintained their own prerogatives and freedoms in terms of jurisdiction, privileges, representative and ceremonial institutions, majestic regalia, currency, language, taxation and even defence. This is illustrated by the fact that Philip II became Philip I in Portugal and there set aside his habitual black garments, at least for major ceremonies, and took up the prescribed regalia of majesty of his new kingdom, such as the royal sceptre, which did not exist in Castile. In the same way, the royal coat of arms was modified to incorporate the symbols of the new dominion, making sure to bestow on it a privileged position that would clearly identify it as a territory which retained its status as a separate kingdom. A splendid example of the new composition is found on the Tomar Cross, which Philip II of Spain (I of Portugal) gave to the Convent of the Order of Christ at Tomar, commemorating the solemn ceremony that acknowledged his accession to the Portuguese throne.

The Holy Roman Empire, too, was extraordinarily diverse, a mosaic of hundreds of jurisdictional realms which actually numbered more than 1,500 if we include the smaller feudal domains that acknowledged their dependence on the emperor. Compared with the 'classic' national states such as France or England, this empire or monarchy has long been regarded as an inexplicable anomaly in political science.

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25 *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, eds. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Harmut Lehmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

26 Bernard Vincent, 'Les musulmans dans l'Espagne moderne', in *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. I. Une intégration invisible*, eds. Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011), 611–634.

27 Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne. Oran, 1509–1669* (Paris: Hachette, 1999).

28 John H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present*, 137 (1992), 48–71.

As early as 1667, its oddity led the German jurist Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) to describe the Spanish empire as *monstro simile*— a monstrosity.[29] However, in recent years, historiography has debunked the perception of these supposedly irregular political formations—the Holy Roman Empire[30] and the Spanish monarchy[31]—as aberrant monstrosities.

The first indication that the empire and the monarchy were not monstrous political entities may be their longevity. The Holy Roman Empire survived until 1806, and the composite monarchy endured at least until the early-eighteenth century when the House of Bourbon came to the throne.

The sixteenth century was still a period of hegemony for the Spanish monarchy; despite facing serious conflicts in Flanders and elsewhere, its structure was not under the enormous pressure of the great crises that arose in the following century, when it would be forced to prove its undeniable resilience.[32] However, this period raises questions about how that composite monarchy actually managed to govern jurisdictionally diverse territories and even make the qualitative leap of adding Portugal to its possessions.

First, the monarchy developed a system of deputies who, as direct agents of the king, represented the monarch in territories including Portugal, Aragon and Naples, where they were required because of the nature of their realms as kingdoms and not mere provinces. Appointing viceroys and governors, the monarchy became a series of domains ruled by an absent king where the domains retained their own privileges, local bureaucracy and even their own courts, maintaining the rituals of their distinctive ceremonial traditions. A case in point is the Lisbon court of Archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621), Viceroy of Portugal from 1583 to 1594.

Second, the monarchy remained firmly rooted in Castile, the mainstay of the royal treasury by virtue of its tax-collecting capacity and, most importantly, the realm to which the silver-rich Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru were attached. Moreover, Castile was the seat of the royal court, installed in Madrid in 1561. The acquisition of Portugal opened the possibility of making Lisbon the court of the new dual monarchy, as its location on the Atlantic coast was considered more advantageous than inland Madrid. This never happened, less because of the inconvenience of

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29 Alfred Dufour, 'Pufendorf', in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought (1450–1700)*, ed. James H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 561–588 (esp. 583).

30 Peter H. Wilson, 'Still a Monstrosity? Some Reflections on Early Modern German Statehood', *The Historical Journal*, 49:2 (2006), 565–576.

31 *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?*, eds. Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, and Gaetano Sabatini (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

32 Christopher Storrs, *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy 1665–1700*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

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moving to a new city than because it meant abandoning the Castilian heart of the monarchy.

The Castilian court was home to several tribunals or councils that advised the monarch on the varied affairs of state and governance, although the domains of the composite monarchy maintained their own systems of justice and government, as was the case in Portugal, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Milan, Naples and Sicily.

Some of the councils residing alongside the absent king can be likened to our modern-day bureaucracy, although the legal officials of that era were far from loyal public servants. Others, however, handled matters related to the government of specific territories, such as the councils of Castile, the Indies, Flanders, Italy, Aragon and, after the dual union of 1580, Portugal. Some of them, like Aragon and Portugal, existed as privileges of their respective kingdoms, serving as reminders of these territories at the royal court and not merely as administrative tribunals.

In addition, the Castilian court included those who served the different royal households, starting with the king and queen. They employed people from many different realms and territories, creating a cosmopolitan court environment which ladies and gentlemen from across the monarchy's domains and beyond aspired to join. In this respect, it is interesting to recall that one of the privileges Philip II granted to Portugal was allowing certain young women of the Portuguese nobility to serve the Infantas at court, giving rise to the famous *meninas*.

Spain made its presence felt in different territories by the constant threat of violence, often perpetrated by troops stationed at strategically-located garrisons or castles to control the population. It also sent legal officials to mete out justice or collect taxes in the Crown's name, thereby keeping a tight rein on even the most far-flung domains.

An impressive system of written communications and dispatches was created to overcome the inconveniences posed by the enormous distances covered; it could even be said that the Spanish-Portuguese monarchy, attempting to bind its many parts together, created an empire of ink—a written empire.

A steady stream of reports was sent from the territories to decision-making centres such as Madrid, Seville and Lisbon, while royal orders and petitions flowed outwards in the opposite direction. The printing press also helped to distribute royal orders, particularly in Spanish America, first to Mexico (1539) and later to Peru (1584), where the first text ever printed was a royal proclamation of Philip II. Finally, this empire of ink also established channels by which subjects of any status could write to the monarch or his tribunals.[33]

33 Fernando Bouza, 'Cultures and communication across the Iberian world (fifteenth–seventeenth centuries)', in *The Iberian World 1450–1820*, 211–244 (esp. 228–239).

Yet however overbearing and coercive they may have been, the military and official legal forces were not the most important means of maintaining control in a large part of the monarchy's domains (after periods of conquest or rebellion). One of the main reasons why the monarchy was able to endure in such different and distant places, from Franche-Comté to Portugal, was its extraordinary talent for reaching agreements with the local ruling class.

By conducting negotiations that culminated in formalised pacts and charters, the Spanish Habsburg monarchy worked because it had the support of local nobles and leaders who facilitated the governance of its constituent parts. In exchange for their support, these ruling classes expected to maintain their privileged status in each domain and cultivate opportunity to prosper at court or in the service of a universal monarch.

Although this monarchy/empire was characterised by the existence of internal borders, clearly established in the jurisdictional charters of each constituent realm, it was also a unified reality for certain groups whose members could move unimpeded throughout its domains. These clearly identifiable groups included courtiers, urban patricians, merchants, traders and businessmen, lawyers and officers of justice, diplomats, soldiers and sailors, missionaries and clergymen, collectors, inventors and artists. It can therefore be said that numerous *res publicae* rested on that composite monarchy and gave to it the spatial continuity not provided by legal charters.

The monarchy's operating mechanism benefited enormously from the dense web of interpersonal networks woven around merchants in such vital matters as the circulation of news and financial revenue. A small cluster of individual biographies, however, reveal that it was possible to live by hopping from one European court or realm to the next, in the service of the monarch, the royal family, the provincial aristocratic courts, or even the market. By way of example, we might recall the cases of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Ruy Gómez de Silva, Sofonisba Anguissola, Cristóvão de Moura, Antonis Mor, Jacopo da Trezzo, Joris Hoefnagel, Pompeo Leoni and, above all, Doménikos Theotokópoulos, El Greco.

However, in addition to these celebrated individuals—whose experiences ran parallel to those of Arcimboldo of Milan and the Flemish artist Bartholomeus Spranger, who travelled to Vienna and Prague for work—many other lives attest to the appeal of residing, or seeking employment, in the monarchy of Philip II. The list is extensive, ranging from ladies-in-waiting like Jeanne de Chassincourt (Jacincourt); Juliana de Alencastre and the sisters Anna, Barbara and Hippolyta Dietrichstein; to printers and engravers (the Craesbeecks and Pieter Perret); natural philosophers (Leonardo Fioravanti and Giovanni Battista Gesio); scholars (Pierre Pantin and Andreas Schottus); musicians (Philippe Rogier and

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Géry de Ghersem); and individuals such as Elisabetta Bonacina, Jacopo da Trezzo's servant, the court fool Agostino Profiti, and the highly esteemed tailor René Geneli. Eugenio Salazar was probably quite right in saying that the royal court had become a magnet for myriad people who dressed and wore their hair and moustaches in the style of their respective native lands, moreover exhibiting 'tanta diversidad de lenguas entre ellos, como entre los que edificaban la torre de Babel' [among them a diversity of tongues to rival that of the builders of the Tower of Babel].[34]

In this monarchy of *res publicae*, there were excellent connections between major cities like Seville, Antwerp, Burgos, Madrid, Brussels, Naples, Milan and Lisbon, which in turn had links to important urban centres in Asia, such as Goa; or the Americas, such as Mexico City and Lima. For reasons already indicated above, the venerable, lavish court of Lisbon, a Babelian city with a cosmopolitan atmosphere[35] which Francisco Porras de la Cámara visited in 1591, played a very prominent role in this monarchy/empire after 1580.[36]

Porras arrived as part of the delegation sent to Lisbon by the city council of Seville to ensure a steady supply of grain for making bread to feed the Andalusian metropolis. His case illustrates the fact that inter-urban relations were not hampered by jurisdictional borders; indeed, the traffic of goods and metals that had linked Seville and Lisbon throughout the sixteenth century, long before the kingdoms were united in 1580, continued seamlessly after that date. On the banks of the Tagus, Porras's delegation was received by a group of Christian businessmen newly arrived from Antwerp who were doing business in both Portugal and Castile, competing with Genoese and German merchants to profit from the lucrative Atlantic and Indian trade.

During his time in Lisbon, the Sevillian was struck by the astonishing diversity of the Portuguese court, taking note of life in the palace, its bustling commercial streets, and the land and sea exercises conducted by troops from the Castilian garrison. He also noticed the music and songs of the African slaves, the comedies and the squares 'que se poblaban de gentes de todas naciones y reinos e lenguas e profesiones del mundo'

34 *Epistolario español. II*, ed. Eugenio de Ochoa (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1870), 283–284.

35 Sheldon Pollock, 'Cosmopolitanism and Vernacular in History', in *Cosmopolitanism*, eds. Carol A. Breckenridge, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Homi K. Bhaba and Sheldon Pollock (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 15–53.

36 *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*, eds. Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend and K. J. P. Lowe (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015); Saúl Martínez Bermejo, 'Lisbon, new Rome and emporium: Comparing an early modern imperial capital, 1550–1750', *Urban History* 44(4) (2017), 604–621. An edition of the *Jornada de Lisboa de 1591*, the original manuscript of which is held at the Real Biblioteca in Madrid, MSS II/2243, is currently in preparation.

[filled with people of every nation and kingdom and language and profession in the world].[37]

He seemed to be particularly impressed by the influence of the *Estado da Índia*, which was everywhere in Lisbon, and took pains to describe it. For instance, he recounted the ceremonies of the solemn celebration of the feast of Santo Tomé (the Apostle Thomas) in the royal chapel, organised by the company in charge of Asian trade, the *Casa da Índia*. The chapel floor was covered with silk carpets from India and Anatolia, on which large zoomorphic censers representing lions, dragons and eagles had been placed. Porras was particularly surprised by the nine large basins of spices —pepper, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg and other 'escogidísimas drogas al fin como para ofrecer a Dios' [fine drugs carefully selected as if for offering to God]—placed before the main altar, where there were also two tigers and two tortoises with perfume emanating from their stripes and openings in their shells. Finally, the voices of twenty singers and the strains of two organs completed a truly stunning spectacle.

The Iberian and cosmopolitan experience of the Spanish-Portuguese monarchy reached its apogee in Lisbon as a showcase of imperial power. Its renovated royal palace was certainly not a bad choice of location to paint Philip II as the new Habsburg Hercules, gathering up with 'gallant grace' all parts of a world where were divided and shattered in pieces on the palace floor.

37 Isabel de Castro Henriques, *Historical Guide to an African Lisbon: 15th to 21st Century* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2021).

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